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**THE BRITISH MILITARY OCCUPATION  
OF THE CAPE 1795 – 1815,  
THE CASE OF YORK REDOUBT**



**Ute A Seemann**

**A thesis presented for the degree of  
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY**

**in the Department of Archaeology  
Faculty of Science**

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Lorraine Lithgow, Mary Millar,  
Hennie Prince, Ethel Seidel and  
Paul Watkins**

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and enthusiasm I could not have achieved what I did.**

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---

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---

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## ABSTRACT

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This thesis describes and interprets the results of an archaeological / historical research project in military history at the Cape of Good Hope, South Africa. It is concerned primarily with the material remains of the rank and file of the British Army, and secondly with those written sources, which augment and interpret the found cultural material. The artefacts, which form the database for the analysis, were excavated at a British fortification, York Redoubt, on the slopes of Devil's Peak outside the contemporary urban boundaries of Cape Town. The redoubt was in use from 1795/6 to about 1829 and thereafter visited as a picnic spot.

Reference is made to previous archaeological investigations at military sites in the Cape colony, Bermuda, Mauritius and Canada amongst others, spanning the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, followed by a description of the events leading up to the British occupation of the Cape in 1795. The slow advance of the British troops from the landing beaches in False Bay towards the Castle, the Dutch East India Company's seat of power, is seen from the perspective of the lower rank and file. The focus in chapter 3 is on the role the military played, in the formation and transformation of civilian government, during the years of rule by decree (1795-1797), the interim period of 1797-1803, and finally the years of consolidation 1806-1815. The documentary evidence was taken from, coloured by and filtered through official British military and government documents, dictated and written by those who had a vested interest in preserving their version of events.

Chapter 4 introduces York Redoubt, which was partially excavated in 1996. A detailed analysis, which forms the main part of this thesis, was conducted of the redoubt's built environment and cultural material associated with it: ceramics, glass, gunflints, weaponry, personal belongings of the soldiers and military issue, faunal material and claypipes. The bulk of the ceramic and claypipe assemblage

was securely dated to the occupation period of York Redoubt.

The data generated from the analysis of the artefactual material yielded a detailed picture of life at a military outpost at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> / beginning of 19<sup>th</sup> century. This data was also used to compare the assemblage from York Redoubt with two domestic sites in Cape Town and two military sites in Canada from the same time period. It was found that the material expressions of the York Redoubt garrison differed substantially from, firstly, domestic sites and secondly from two military sites in Canada. In contrast to the Canadian sites, at York Redoubt the fine ceramic and glass tableware was acquired and used by the lower rank and file and their visitors, material expressions of a social and cultural system familiar from 'home', a life of comfort and ease at the Cape of Good Hope. The historical archaeology of York Redoubt contributes a "texture" at the level of a singular minor fortification work, which can often be found in historical sources alone. But in this thesis I have – hopefully – tried to construct a "footprint" of what life looked like for an ordinary soldier at the Cape.

In the last chapter, it was found that certain classes of artefacts had, in addition to purely functional use, substantial symbolic meaning. For instance, British Masonic claypipes led to new insights regarding Freemasonry at the Cape. Other artefacts – such as marked buttons – generated inquiries into the formation of a respectable artisan and tradesmen class. A number of artefacts were used as rank and status indicators. Leisure activities could be deduced – amongst others – from pieces of domino, graffiti and musical instruments. It was found that the interaction between occupying troops and the lower classes of Cape society was quite extensive. In this sense all of Cape Town and its hinterland became a "military site".

The greater relevance of this work therefore lies in its contribution to historical archaeology, highlighting the military component of the British colonising forces and illuminating the role, that everyday items, such as ceramics, uniforms and claypipes were given in asserting signals of power, domination and status in "making the Cape British".

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## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

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The origins of this research project dates back to 1988, when I explored the direction which I would take for my post-graduate work in archaeology. Given the choice of several projects, I chose to pursue military historical archaeology. I began to explore the possibilities and implications of working in a field, which at that time was not well developed in South Africa. Concerns in historical archaeology were - and are still - largely focussed on aspects of colonial encounters and the socio-economic implications for colonists and indigenous peoples alike. Then as now there was an underlying awareness that in the historical and pre-historic past of the people of Southern Africa was a richness of originality and complexity of thought and meaning that needed to be exposed to provide a more comprehensive reading.

Given the relatively newness of historical archaeology in South Africa, military history, as one of many sudisciplines had not been explored in the Southern African context<sup>1</sup>. The presence of European military forces and their auxiliary troops at the Cape and the impact they had on the local population was quite substantial<sup>2</sup>. The purely descriptive facts have been dealt with in several outstanding historical theses, dissertations and research essays that have been used as source material for the historical background in this thesis. References to these will appear in the text.

---

<sup>1</sup> Because of the political dispensation during the *apartheid* era. However, nineteenth century and earlier military histories are well explored.

<sup>2</sup> Seemann, UA. 1993. *Forts and Fortification at the Cape Peninsula 1781 – 1829*. University

A disadvantage of my research from the outset, beginning with the history and archaeology of one fortification work, the Amsterdam Battery at the Cape Town Waterfront<sup>3</sup>, was the absence of an established body of work of a similar nature on the subject in South Africa. Historical archaeological research on the military presence at the Cape started quietly with the renovation of the Castle in Cape Town, giving the opportunity for archaeological explorations. The Castle, the military headquarters of the Dutch East India Company's (hereafter referred to as the VOC)-Cape settlement, was completed in 1674. It is still used by the South African National Defence Force. The work by Abrahams, Halkett & Hall in the early 1990's was only preceded by Andrew Smith's excavation report on the Conway Redoubt, Constantia Nek<sup>4</sup>. Gabeba Abrahams-Willis' research paper on the excavations of the Fort De Goede Hoop, the first temporary headquarters of the VOC<sup>5</sup>, Hall & Halkett's paper on the 'Bastion and Moat at the Castle'<sup>6</sup>, are contemporary with my work on the Hout Bay Forts which includes a survey of all the fortification works at the Cape Peninsula 1781 – 1829<sup>7</sup>. The latter sparked a great interest in coastal fortifications by academia and the public. A tourist route for military fortification works around the Cape Peninsula has since been established with the help of the Cape Peninsula Tourist Organisation and members of the Military History Society<sup>8</sup>.

In 1992 Anton Carl van Vollenhoven of the University of Pretoria presented his MA thesis on the Military Fortifications of Pretoria<sup>9</sup>. The work documents the

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of Cape Town: Unpublished MSc thesis in archaeology.

<sup>3</sup> Seemann, UA. 1989. *The Amsterdam Battery*. Unpublished BSc (Hons) dissertation, University of Cape Town.

<sup>4</sup> Smith AB. 1981. The French Period at the Cape, 1781-1783: a report on the excavations at Conway Redoubt, Constantia Nek. *Military History Journal*, Vol 5, No 3, June 1981.

<sup>5</sup> Abrahams, G. 1993. The Grand Parade, Cape Town: archaeological excavations of the seventeenth century Fort De Goede Hoop. *SA Arch. Bull.* Vol. XLVIII, No 157 June 1993.

<sup>6</sup> Hall, M. and Halkett, D *et al.* 1990. "Stone Wall out of the Earth that thundering cannon cannot destroy"? Bastion and Moat at the Castle, *Cape Town. Social Dynamics*, 16(1), pp 22-37.

<sup>7</sup> Seemann, UA. 1993, op cit.

<sup>8</sup> The Castle Military Museum started to publish a series of booklets for interested tourists. The 3<sup>rd</sup> in the series is: Seemann, UA. 1997. *Fortifications at the Cape Peninsula 1647 – 1829*.

<sup>9</sup> Van Vollenhoven, AC. 1992. *'N Histories-Argeologiese Ondersoek na die Militere Fortifikasies van Pretoria (1880-1902)*. Unpublished MA thesis University of Pretoria.

historical background relating to the Anglo-Boer conflicts in the Transvaal. A survey to identify all the fortification works around Pretoria was carried out and an extensive archaeological investigation of Fort Daspoortrand was conducted in a similar way to my study at the Cape Peninsula.

Finally, Lita Webley conducted an archaeological investigation at the Battlefield of Rorke's Drift, Northern Natal<sup>10</sup>. The work was undertaken with the aim of elucidating the course of events at the mission station during the Anglo-Zulu War of 1879. A few artefacts were recovered which could "unequivocally be linked to the battle despite the scale of military operations at the site both during and after the conflict of 22 January 1879". This research report is interesting insofar as it augments written and oral sources from both sides of a singular event. "Cartridges and Chronology: an Exercise in Relative Dating" by J Dreyer discusses and dates cartridges found on and around a Late Iron Age settlement near Winburg, Orange Free State, which date from the 1890's to the 1920's<sup>11</sup>. It is the first useful guide of military artefacts found in context, outside the specialized literature, which I used in my analysis.

It is also important at this point to make some reference to military-historical-archaeological work done abroad, of which I am aware. The contributions made by Edward C. Harris' team of archaeologists and historians on the Bermuda Forts were of immense value to the direction my inquiries took me<sup>12</sup>. The Parks Canada Project published papers on excavations at military sites in Canada<sup>13</sup>. The Martello Towers of Mauritius were investigated and one of

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<sup>10</sup> Webley, L. 1993. Archaeological Investigations at the Battlefield of Rorke's Drift, Northern Natal. *Southern African Field Archaeology* 2:24-34.

<sup>11</sup> Dreyer, J. 1994. Cartridges and Chronology: an exercise in relative dating. *Southern African Field Archaeology*, 3:44-48.

<sup>12</sup> See, for instance: Triggs, JR. 1989. Excavations at Scaur Hill Fort, Bermuda. *Bermuda Journal of Archaeology and Maritime History*, Vol. 1:131-142.

Aldsworth Fred. 1990. Excavations at West Elbow Bay Fort, Paget, Bermuda. *Bermuda Journ. of Arch. and Mar. Hist.* Vol 2:61-70.

Gould, RA, Harris, EC, and Triggs, JR. 1991. The 1991 Archaeological Field Season at Fort Cunningham, Bermuda. *Bermuda Journ. of Arch. and Mar. Hist.*, Vol 3:65-88.

<sup>13</sup> See for instance: Jacobs, Lorene H. 1982. Analysis of a Nineteenth Century Military Midden: The Butler's Barracks Example. *Parks Canada: Research Bulletin* No 205, November 1983. Also: Sussman, Lynne. 1990. British Military Tableware, 1760-1830. *Historical Archaeology*, Vol 12, pp 93-104.

them restored in 1996<sup>14</sup>. Fort Frederick Hendrick, the first Dutch fortified structure erected on Mauritius in 1638 under orders from the VOC, has been partly excavated by Peter Floore of the University of Amsterdam and Carmel Schrire of Rutgers University, NY<sup>15</sup>. The historical archaeological work on the numerous fortifications in the Netherlands is too vast to mention in this context. The University of Amsterdam is a leader in the field; its historical archaeologists are investigating the Dutch West India Company's fortifications in the former Dutch West Indies and their South American possessions<sup>16</sup>.

In more general terms, it can be said that these works dealt with the social, political, economic and cultural relevance of the presence of either fortification works or battlefield encounters. As far as I am aware, the influence the military as a distinct sub-culture had on the cultural mindscape of those they conquered has received little attention.

The act of occupation and colonisation requires two players, the British military and the freeburghers of the Cape of Dutch, German and French descent. This thesis tries to elucidate and interpret the material remains of both, covering the period from 1795 to 1815, when the British first occupied and then took formal possession of the Cape, establishing permanent bases for their army and navy. The personal material remains of individual members of the British Army at the Cape Peninsula were not easy to detect. Many of the British campsites, battlefields of 1795 and 1806, and fortification works have been built over or altered. Investigations to find the remains of a British campsite at Rondebosch Common and some personal effects of the troops at the Central Redoubt in Trafalgar Park in urban Woodstock failed. York Redoubt on the slopes of Devil's Peak, long forgotten and overgrown,

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<sup>14</sup> La Hausse de Lalouvière, Philippe. 1998. The Martello Towers of Mauritius. In: *Proceedings of an International Conference on Coastal Fortifications held in Mauritius, 18-21 June 1996*, pp 89-101.

<sup>15</sup> For preliminary investigations into Fort Frederick Hendrik, see: Floore, Pieter M. 1998. Exporting the Model: Dutch 17<sup>th</sup> century stronghold engineering overseas. In: *Proceedings of an International Conference on Coastal Fortifications held in Mauritius, 18-21 June 1996*, pp 50-56.

<sup>16</sup> Pieter M Floore, University of Amsterdam, and Perry Moree, Algemeene Staatsarchief, Den Haag, pers. comm.

ultimately yielded the desired results. The aim was then to uncover and articulate the meaning of the artefactual remains in the context of their time.

This study confines itself to the role the rank and file of the occupation troops played in the transformation of a Dutch East India Company's outpost into a British colony. It proposes that the soldiers' influence as individuals and as a group was larger than previously thought. The occupation troops interacted on a daily basis, officially and unofficially, with the inhabitants on all levels. The army and navy command proceeded to make the Cape a vital element in the military, socio-economic, political and cultural system of the greater British Empire. Finally, I hope to be able to discern from documents and records - from complementary source material - the responses of the occupied people, actual and hidden subtexts of layers of conformity to the day-to-day activities of the British army. This approach highlights the two-way process of acculturation between the conquerers and the conquered.

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## CHAPTER 2

### THE BRITISH MILITARY OCCUPATION OF THE CAPE

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"History is but one form of narrative".

Roland Barthes, 1982.<sup>1</sup>

On 11 June 1795 two British squadrons consisting of six heavy warships, a frigate and two sloops sailed into False Bay and lay at anchor off Simon's Bay (Fig. 1). The squadron's Naval Commander, Admiral Sir George Keith Elphinstone, carried a letter from the exiled *stadholder* Prince William V of the Netherlands, authorising the Cape Government to place the settlement under the protection of the British.

General Pichegru's French revolutionary Armée Du Nord had invaded the Netherlands in 1794. Years of insurrection by 'Patriots' and burghers before and after the fall of the French Monarchy led to the declaration of the Batavian Republic in 1795<sup>2</sup>. This was seen as a threat to British national survival and for imperial security<sup>3</sup>, as the combined republican forces of France and the Netherlands could at any moment try to invade the British Isles. French and Dutch overseas possessions were suddenly vulnerable to British invasions, as the British fleet had started to enforce the Continental Blockade and had near total command of the Atlantic and Indian Oceans.

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<sup>1</sup> Quoted in: Worden, N. & Crais, C. (Eds). 1994. *Breaking the Chains, Slavery and its Legacy in the Nineteenth Century Cape Colony*. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, p 228.

<sup>2</sup> Schama, S. 1992. *Patriots and Liberators, Revolution in the Netherlands 1780-1813*. London: Fontana Press.

<sup>3</sup> Kennedy, P. 1989. *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers*. Fontana Press, p 160.

CAPE PENINSULA

drawn by order of the Dutch Government  
and revised and corrected by  
Lieut. Col. Bridges, Royal Engineer.

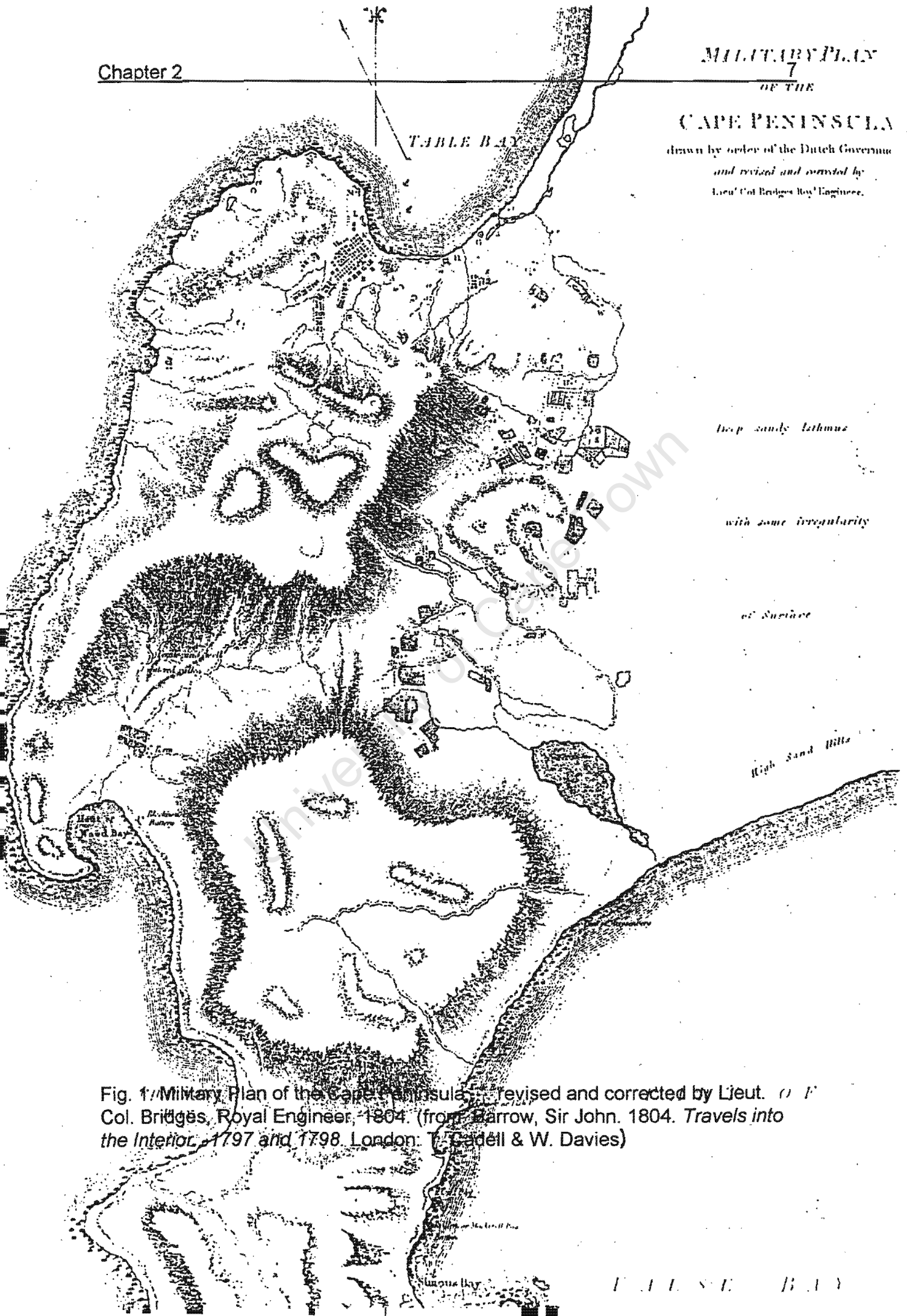


Fig. 1. Military Plan of the Cape Peninsula. Revised and corrected by Lieut. Col. Bridges, Royal Engineer, 1804. (from Barrow, Sir John. 1804. *Travels into the Interior, 1797 and 1798*. London: T. Cadell & W. Davies)

One of the priorities of the British Colonial Office was to secure the Dutch and French possessions centred around the British East India Company trade routes and ports. The latter had pressed the British Government to take, besides Malacca, Colombo and Mauritius, the Cape of Good Hope station, which was vital as an additional base for the naval squadrons and commercial fleets<sup>4</sup>. From Mauritius and bases on the coast of the Indian subcontinent the English East India trade was under severe attack by large and powerful French privateers, commanded by such daring commerce-raiders as Robert Surcouf, who was based in Mahébourg, Mauritius<sup>5</sup>. The French upper classes, cut off from the supply of East Indian luxury goods by the continental naval blockade, were willing to pay high prices.

The potential of a southern African colony to receive the 'surplus' population of Great Britain, mostly the working classes and the sons of the minor aristocracy, who could be gainfully employed, was not overlooked. The population of Britain was rising rapidly due to the industrialisation process (wage labour opportunities) and new improved foodstuff production.

If basic conditions were right, the new British colony might be opened up to provide an entry into the untapped consumer markets of the Southern African continent. As the Colonial Secretary Henry Dundas remarked "there was a need to provide new and beneficial markets, as a substitute for those in which there is a temporary interruption"<sup>6</sup> This 'temporary interruption' was to last for twenty years, until Napoleon was finally defeated in 1815 and the European and American markets opened once again to receive British finished goods. The British Navy and Army were, besides fulfilling their military role, in deed and spirit supplying the necessary back-up to protect the trade interests of the rising merchant, planters and industrialist classes. This was cynically spelled out in

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<sup>4</sup> Kennedy, P. 1991. *The Rise and Fall of British Naval Mastery*. London: Fontana Press, third edition, pp. 152-153.

<sup>5</sup> Kennedy, P. 1991. op cit. p 154.

<sup>6</sup> Kennedy, P. 1991. op cit. p 152.



General Dundas' letter to his subordinate Brigadier General Thomas Vandeleur, dated 7 June 1799: "... The Caffers, they will be able to supply the real wants of this Colony; while, in return we shall but increase their imaginary ones"<sup>7</sup>.

After protracted deliberations between the British military commander Admiral GK Elphinstone and Governor Sluysken and the Council of Policy (not without the usual misinformation and diplomatic trickery), the British set foot on South African soil in Simon's Town on 14 July. Major General JH Craig took possession of the *posthouder* Christoffel Brand's house for use as temporary headquarters<sup>8</sup>. Mr Alexander Farquhar, an English officer and victualer, was ordered to "take account of, and become charged with the public stores & c. ashore in Company with general's [Craig] Secretary"<sup>9</sup>, Mr Hercules Ross. These two gentlemen proceeded immediately to make a detailed list of VOC property in Simon's Town, which makes interesting reading (see Appendix 1)<sup>10</sup>.

During the previous negotiation phase Major General JH Craig, accompanied by Messrs Cust<sup>11</sup> and Owen, two officials of the British East India Company, had been able to walk through Cape Town, as had his staff officer Lieut. Colonel MacKenzie, commander of the 78<sup>th</sup> Regiment, before him<sup>12</sup>. Quite a few British officers took the opportunity to evaluate the various forts and fortification works, the terrain between Simon's Town and Cape Town and the strength of the defence troops. Thus, using the delay during the negotiations of a Dutch

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<sup>7</sup> Phillips, H. 1971. *General Francis Dundas at the Cape, 1796 – 1803*. University of Cape Town: Unpublished Research Essay, BA (Hons), p 29, my emphasis.

<sup>8</sup> This house is situated next door to the 'Residency'. The 'Residency', the former governor's residence, owned in 1795 by the burgher Gideon Roussouw was sold to the military for use as a hospital later that year.

<sup>9</sup> Perrin WG. 1927. *The Keith Papers, Selected from the Letters and Papers of Admiral Viscount Keith*. Printed for the Navy Records Society, p 335.

<sup>10</sup> University of the Witwatersrand, The Earl Macartney Papers, A88, No 17, list of VOC property at Simon's Town, dated 3 November 1795.

<sup>11</sup> Thomas Cust of the English East India Company's military branch in Bengal was on leave in Cape Town for health reasons. See: Boucher, M, and Penn N. 1992. *Britain at the Cape 1795 to 1803*. The Brenthurst Press. p 66.

<sup>12</sup> Potgieter, TD. 1995. *The First British Occupation of the Cape*. Castle Military Museum Press, pp. 26-27.

surrender, the British gained valuable operational intelligence. Fortunately, at the time the negotiations broke down, the British fleet had been augmented by the second squadron, the St Helena Corps and a fleet of cargo ships commanded by Major General A Clarke. The last included a strong contingent of sappers, miners, the artillery and the Royal Engineers, who were nominally independent, but technically under the command of Admiral Elphinstone for this campaign. The British now had to engage the local forces for tactical and practical reasons. The victualisation was running low and the equipment of their troops was unsatisfactory.

Amongst the forces under Major General Craig, who came with the first squadron, were 515 men of the 78<sup>th</sup> Regiment and 400 marines. Marines were a special category of volunteer landsmen employed in the navy. They were armed with muskets and other small arms and worked alongside seamen at the guns and in the rigging during battle. During the latter 18<sup>th</sup> century the marines developed, and specialised in, beach assaults<sup>13</sup>. Their role in the 'battle' of Muizenberg in 1795 and in the landing at Losperd's Bay, to the north of Table Bay, in 1806, was crucial to the success of the operations. Seamen were working on naval and merchant ships, which at the time of the Napoleonic Wars needed a high complement of manpower to be able to fulfil its tasks.

The second squadron which arrived on 9 August consisted of six warships with about 1200 marines on board was commanded by Major Ballingale. It also included the St Helena Corps of 398 men under Captain Dentoffe.

Major General A Clarke, the future army commander, arrived on 3 September with 3000 troops, including sappers and artillery. His contingent included

- the 78<sup>th</sup> Regiment, grenadiers and light infantry,
- the 84<sup>th</sup> Regiment, grenadiers and light infantry,

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<sup>13</sup> Hill, JR. (Ed.). 1995. *The Oxford Illustrated History of the Royal Navy*. Oxford University Press,

- the 95<sup>th</sup> Regiment, grenadiers and light infantry,
- the 98<sup>th</sup> Regiment, grenadiers only,
- part of the St Helena Corps and a light company seamen.

The 86<sup>th</sup> Regiment arrived on 16 September 1795.

Altogether about 5-6000 troops had arrived at the Cape, a considerable force compared to the manpower needs in the European theatre of war, the Mediterranean and other Dutch and French colonies which were taken around this time<sup>14</sup>.

It must be remembered that the fleets had been at sea for three months, the waiting period in Simon's Town added another one to two months, and all the food supply for the troops had been brought from England, St Helena or the Indian possessions, or had been obtained by confiscating the cargo of passing ships. Until the negotiations broke down the Dutch had furnished the British with a little food and basic medical provisions. By 12 July the inhabitants of Simon's Town had been ordered away by the VOC government, the fortifications abandoned and the guns spiked. Admiral Elphinstone's entry in his journal of 13 July 1795 spoke pitifully of

"A poor old Swiss soldier... who had been 38 years in the colony's Service, and aged 75, [had] informed him that three Burghers came to his hut last night, destroyed his little garden, killed his goat and left him quite destitute of food."<sup>15</sup>

Hercules Ross mentioned in his account of the days that followed that, on 7 July, "the servants of the [Dutch East India] Company here had orders to destroy all provisions deposited [in the storehouses] therein, and two hundred and fifty sacks of rice, pease, and beans were thrown into the sea least they should fall

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p 139.

<sup>14</sup> The regular army expanded in the course of the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars from some 40 000 in 1793 to a peak of over 250 000 in 1813. The Navy totalled about 120000 marines and seamen. See: Chandler, D & Beckett I (Eds). *The Oxford Illustrated History of the British Army*. Oxford University Press, p 133.

into our hands ... the very large and heavy chests of sugar that could not easily be carried to the wharf had salt-water and train oil poured over them"<sup>16</sup>. The food situation had become desperate. The only fresh food available were a few penguins and fish, *mulletts* (probably harder, a linefish), taken in great quantities from the bay. Several parties went into the hills of the southern Peninsula, where farmers had grown vegetables for the provision of ships, but returned only with a few 'miserable vegetables'<sup>17</sup>. All the cattle and sheep had been driven away from the coast and an expedition to Gordon's Bay and Stellenbosch to procure meat on the hoof was unsuccessful.

Again, after the 'battle' of Muizenberg on 7 August (more a skirmish to the British) the troops, now augmented by the St Helena Corps, were "in great want of provisions, especially those who had thrown away their haversacks. Some Hottentots, apparently ignorant of the English occupying the [former] Dutch camp [at the Muizenberg beach] brought us a drove of sheep", wrote Hercules Ross in the same letter to David Scott, "... they were frightened by the avidity of our men running in among the sheep ..." <sup>18</sup> So great was their hunger, having been on half rations for the last couple of months.

Several deserters had by now joined the British forces, amongst them "six slaves (Hottentots)" with some bales of woollen cloth, which was sent to shore to Mr Christoffel Brand. The slaves preferred to stay at the hospital under the protection of the British forces. A great many more joined until the surrender of the Cape on 16 September<sup>19</sup>. Admiral Elphinstone, mindful of any assistance he could get from all the inhabitants of the Cape, ordered the slaves "to be victualed and paid 2/6 p. week"<sup>20</sup>. One of them was sent to the Dutch camp on "secret

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<sup>15</sup> Perrin, op cit, pp 334-335.

<sup>16</sup> Boucher and Penn, op cit, p 39.

<sup>17</sup> Boucher and Penn, op cit. p 41.

<sup>18</sup> Boucher and Penn, op cit. p 43.

<sup>19</sup> Whether they were returned to their masters under the articles of capitulation which guaranteed private property and burgher prerogatives could not be established.

<sup>20</sup> Perrin, op cit. p 332.

service". As early as 22 June the British commander distributed pamphlets in German and Dutch amongst the inhabitants of greater Cape Town, encouraging them to desert "and promised better pay for the mercenaries in the service of the British"<sup>21</sup>. Several German soldiers from the Württemberg Regiment and the Depot Meuron (a Swiss Regiment) in the service of the Dutch East India Company changed sides over the following weeks. Even before the capitulation, Elphinstone wrote in his diary that "many [of these deserters] decided in favour of naval service and have been hired for £ 2 each. They have fulfilled their duties honourably and are excellent German soldiers"<sup>22</sup>. A great number of mercenaries were also taken into the service of the British East India Company after the capitulation.

Governor Brooke of St Helena, as the nearest British governor, was instructed by the Colonial Office to forward the soldiers' pay, for a start 'five thousand and six pounds, mostly in dollars' to Mr Pringle, the agent for the British East India Company in Cape Town since 1794. On 24 April Mr Pringle had been ordered by his employers to leave the Cape temporarily for St Helena. Pringle's strong views concerning the capture of the Cape by force would have been detrimental to the initial negotiations between Admiral Elphinstone and the Council of Policy.

More pay was forthcoming during the next weeks. The officers and rank and file had so far few opportunities to spend their earnings off duty. During the campaign it was strictly forbidden to fraternise with the 'enemy', especially women. Therefore it was not surprising that, as soon as the Muizenberg camp was captured and the British forces advanced toward Wynberg and Cape Town and more populated areas, the 'General and Garrison Orders' given for 'the day', stressed over and over again, that:

"The Soldiers are Strictly forbid [sic] the harbouring any Negroes in

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<sup>21</sup> Moritz, E. 1938. *Die Deutschen am Kap unter holländischer Herrschaft 1652-1806*. Verlag H Böhlaus Nachf. Weimar, pp 326-327. The translation is the author's own.

<sup>22</sup> Moritz, op cit. p 326.

Camp or Quarters. Commanding Officers of Reg.<sup>ts</sup> or detachments are Required to pay the strictest attention to this Order"<sup>23</sup>

The troops, deprived of female company for months, were eager for the opportunity to entertain the ladies, and *vice versa*. As everywhere, women from all backgrounds flocked to the army campsites. They knew there was fun to be had, money to be made, not forgetting the rum and arrack generously dispensed. Rum was dispensed on many occasions, for example, on the birthday of the Prince of Wales, George III's eldest son, George August Frederick (1762-1830), in readiness for action and after a battle won.<sup>24</sup> Normally, rum was served at two different periods of the day. That was changed to once a day, when after an inspection of the guard of the St Helena Corps on 30 August the quartermaster found several men "in a state of intoxication, immediately confined them and had them severely punished"<sup>25</sup>.

The British troops were ill equipped for the winter in the open at the Cape and a prolonged campaign in wet and cold weather over the marshy terrain between Muizenberg and Wynberg. Each soldier carried his blanket and knapsack, bayonet, firearm and ammunition. The marines were able to put up tents: "The 78<sup>th</sup> [Regiment] will deliver 20 tents to the Marines, which must suffice them, they will each hold 22 men"<sup>26</sup>. The rest of the men stayed in the barracks and commandeered private houses while still in Simon's Town, but after Muizenberg had to sleep in the open. The Commanding Officer of the Day "had orders to pay attention to give strict Directions to persevere the outmost Cleanliness in the Camp". Whether his directive was followed is another matter. Keeping discipline in the camps on the way to the Castle was not an easy task. The officers of the different corps were reminded of it especially in their briefing on 11 September in

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<sup>23</sup> Cape Archives, A316, 'General and Garrison Orders commencing 15 July 1795', dated 24 September 1795. (the original reads 24 April, but the order appears between 21 September and 28 September 1795.

<sup>24</sup> Cape Archives, A316, op cit.

<sup>25</sup> Cape Archives, A316, op cit, 30 August 1795. The kinds of punishments meted out will be discussed in the next chapters.

<sup>26</sup> Cape Archives, A316, op cit, 1 August 1795.

readiness to tackle the enemy at Wynberg with the aim of gaining direct access to the town. General Clarke gave detailed instructions for provisioning the men with rations and ammunition, the manner of attack and who was to carry out the final assault. He felt that only men fit for duty should be employed and the "Sick & Convalescent men ... are not to be included among them[,] very young boys acting as Drummers & Fifers must also be left behind"<sup>27</sup>. Boys were able to join the army and navy, pressed or sold into it by parents and guardians from the age of 12<sup>28</sup>. Here, General Clarke showed remarkable concern for his charges.

A total of nine lieutenant colonels, fourteen lieutenants, nine corporals and 237 men were issued 'one days ration of provision'. The corps had to hand in their gun flints, which were to be redistributed three per man. It seems that by this time ammunition and gun flints had run low.

The battle order for the final and conclusive attack at Wynberg showed adherence to fine detail, which included the marching plans for each company (Fig. 2). Specific mention was made in the Garrison Order of 11 September 1795 of Major York of the Royal Artillery, who was in command of the guns. We will hear from him again later in connection with the building and maintenance of the fortification works.

Just before marching into town the Commander-in-Chief

"Called upon the Officer Commanding Corps on [15 September] to take the most immediate & Effectual means to prevent their men from Straggling from Camp as the General is Determined to punish in the outmost exemplary manner, any man who may be found, beyond the Centrice [perimeter] of his Reg.<sup>t</sup> & particularly plunderers.

Commanding Officers of Corps are Desired to send Piquet Officer patrols in front of their Respective Reg.<sup>ts</sup> to Afford protection to the

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<sup>27</sup> Cape Archives, A316, op cit, 12 September 1795.

<sup>28</sup> Hill, JR, op cit. p 150.

Houses immediately in the Neighbourhood & to take prisoners  
Stragglers of every Denomination<sup>29</sup>.

To make sure that the orders were obeyed he added that, " The Rolls of each  
Corps to be called every hour during the day"<sup>30</sup>.

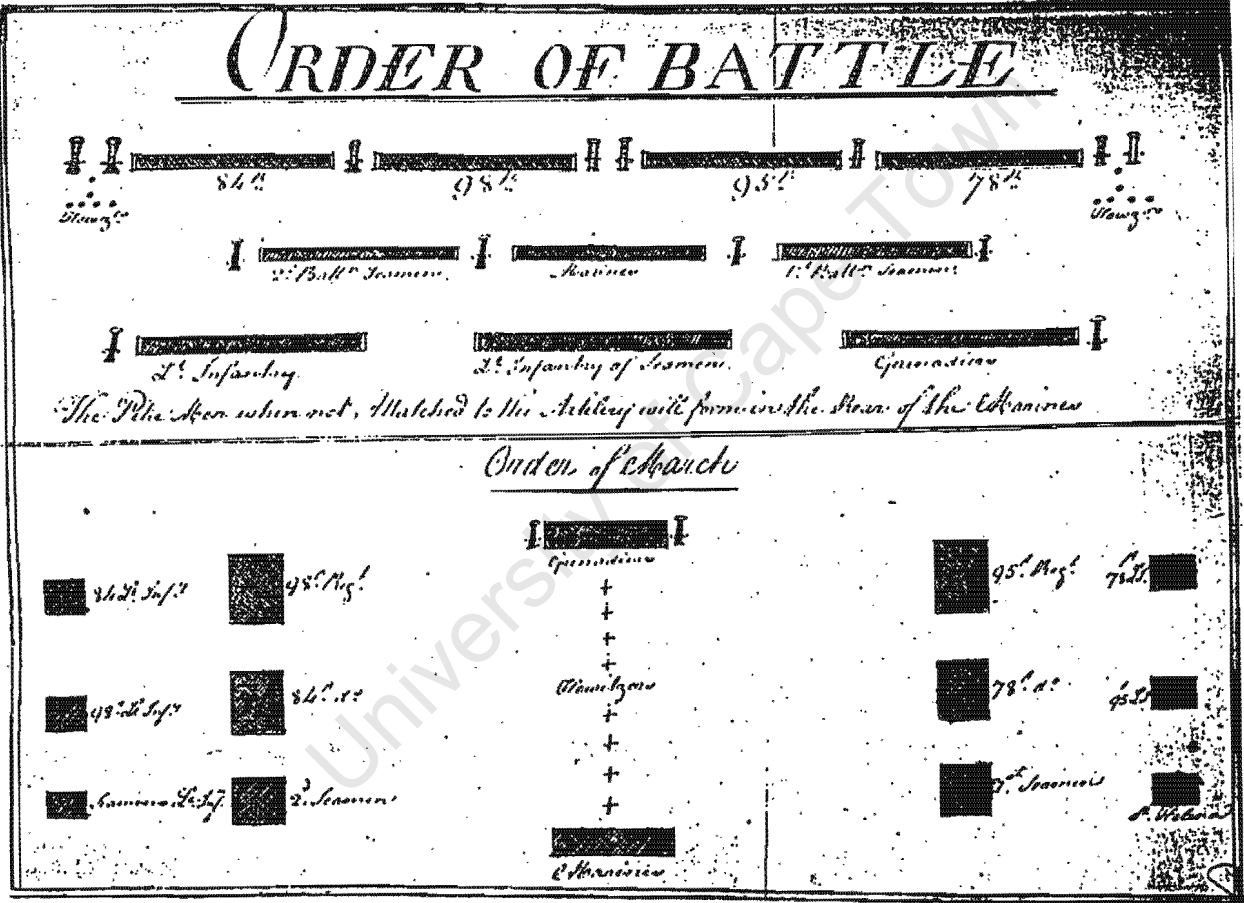


Fig. 2. The battle order at Wynberg, 12 September 1795, (Cape Archives, A316, General and Garrison Orders).

<sup>29</sup> Cape Archives, A316, op cit. Orders dated 15 September 1795.

<sup>30</sup> Cape Archives, A316, op cit. Orders dated 15 September 1795.



Throughout the campaign the British command had tried to ensure that the "strictest regularity of Behaviour of the troops" was enforced. The men were forbidden to harm any civilian, plunder or act in any aggressive way towards the inhabitants of the Cape. There was only one reported incident. In the evening of 16 September more men made their way into town with General Clarke, but the naval personnel and the merchant seamen were turned back at the Main Road tollgate into Cape Town<sup>31</sup>. Disappointed and deprived of their 'spoils of war' the men broke into many houses along the Main Road on the way back to Simon's Town. Groot Constantia, for instance, was looted thoroughly<sup>32</sup>.

It was vital to gain the co-operation of the Cape's inhabitants. The army's instructions were to try and integrate the population into its own ranks and to 'convert' it to British ways. One explanation for this phenomenon was that British policy in regard to the Cape of Good Hope required the military government to prepare the foundations for a permanent British presence. This will be tentatively illuminated in the following chapters, beginning with the description and interpretation of British rule at the Cape, followed by extensive analysis of the archaeological data from York Redoubt, which is augmented by historical documentary sources.

Meanwhile, the Castle of Good Hope, seat of the Dutch East India Company's government and symbol of its power, was peacefully taken over on 16 September of that year. The First British Military Occupation of the Cape had begun.

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<sup>31</sup> The tollgate was situated on the Main Road in today's suburb of Woodstock between Hollands Redoubt and Central Redoubt.

<sup>32</sup> Boucher and Penn, op cit, p 65 (footnote 161).

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## CHAPTER 3

### THE BRITISH MILITARY GOVERNMENT AT THE CAPE

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"As far as we know, we are English now..."  
Missionary Schwimm at the Genadendal  
Mission Station, on return of the soldiers of  
the Pandour Regiment, September 1795.

#### 3.1 Rule by decree/ martial law: 1795 - 1797

In 1795 Cape Town had about 15000 inhabitants, half of which were slaves and about 20% free blacks and Khoikhoi. The remaining population was mostly of German and Dutch origin, and some were French<sup>1</sup>. The latter were viewed with considerable distrust by the occupation forces.

The influx of 1200 British infantry troops, 200 artillerymen<sup>2</sup> and marines and seamen must have been a traumatic and yet exhilarating experience for the population. Victory celebrations were in order after the ordeal of the month-long campaign, the constant vigilance and the depravations of camping out in the cold, rainy winter weather. "We now hope to enjoy the comforts of a quiet life, in a charming country, after all our troubles and fatigues", wrote Lieut. Col. A McKenzie, commander of the 78<sup>th</sup> Regiment, to his brother-in-law, Lord Seaforth<sup>3</sup>. Indeed, most members of the officer class, the rank and file and their

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<sup>1</sup> Worden, N, van Heyningen, E, & Bickford-Smith, V. 1998. *Cape Town, the Making of a City*. Cape Town: David Philip Publishers, p 88. Other sources (e.g. Potgieter, p. 42, Boucher and Penn, p 65) mention 1400 and 2500 men respectively.

<sup>2</sup> Worden, N, van Heyningen, E, & Bickford-Smith, V. 1998. *op cit.* p 86.

<sup>3</sup> Brinton, W. 1977. *History of the British Regiments in South Africa 1795-1895*. University of Cape Town: Published by the Department of Extra Mural Studies, p 9.

of Grain and the Wine Tax.<sup>10</sup> The *fiscal* Willem Stephanus van Ryneveld remained in office. However, Elphinstone recommended that the post of Judge of the Court of Admiralty be filled by Mr Peter Baumgardt (Junior), "a gentleman, perfectly master of the English language, who resided eight years in Bengal"<sup>11</sup>. This important position had to be filled with a qualified and trusted person of known character, who could not interfere with the British East India Company's charter which would be applied in the newly acquired territory at the Cape.

Admiral Elphinstone, the task of capturing the Cape completed and having ensured the efficient transfer of authority, sailed with his fleet on 15 November 1795 for Madras. He left orders for Commodore Blankett, the senior naval officer:

" You are to take charge during my absence of all matters relative to the King's Naval Service, and, in conjunction with Major General Craig, upon whom the Government will devolve on the departure of General Clarke and myself, you will use your best endeavour according to your original instructions for the security of the colony"<sup>12</sup>

Those who were left behind were ambivalent about their reception by the inhabitants of the Cape and even more unsure about their welcome by the burghers of the *hinterland*, the distant parts of the colony behind the Tygerberg and Hex River Mountains. Elphinstone's first impression had been that they did not seem to regret the change in their situation. It was only the servants of the VOC, having lost their employment, 'who were to be pitied'. "As the means of conciliating their affections"<sup>13</sup>, he retained those who were willing to take the oath of fidelity to the new authorities. Elphinstone was willing, unless proven otherwise, to trust "the natives in offices of profit" in the civil government and was confident enough to consider their employment in the Army and Navy. General

<sup>10</sup> Theal, George McCall. 1891. op cit. pp 5-6.

<sup>11</sup> Perrin, WG. 1927. *The Keith Papers, Selected from the Letters and Papers of Admiral Viscount Keith*. Printed for the Navy Records Society, p 388, letter from Elphinstone to Dundas, dated 10 October 1795.

<sup>12</sup> Perrin, op cit. p 392, letter from Elphinstone to Blankett, dated 12 November 1795.

<sup>13</sup> Perrin, op cit. pp 386-387.

Clarke recommended too, that the younger "branches of the Families at the Cape might be employed both in civil and military capacities as the most effectual means of endearing the inhabitants to the British Government"<sup>14</sup>.

However, John Bruce, who compiled a sketch of the Commercial History of the Cape of Good Hope in 1797, viewed the freeburghers with considerable distrust. He wrote:

"The inhabitants are either German, Dutch or French; the first may be trusted, as Soldiers, by the British Government; it will be difficult to reconcile the second, and it will be absolutely necessary, for the safety of the Settlement, to send off the whole of the last to Europe"<sup>15</sup>.

Pretty strong sentiments, indeed.

To contain the Jacobean or 'Patriotic' elements - Dutch burghers sympathetic to French revolutionary sentiments - garrisons were stationed throughout the Cape Peninsula and the Cape Plains (Flats). Robert Percival, a naval officer on his way to India with his regiment, stayed for two months at the Cape in 1796. He was a shrewd observer of conditions at the Cape.

Percival found a detachment of the 78<sup>th</sup> Regiment stationed in Simon's Town under the command of Major Monypenny, who apparently had recovered from the wounds received in the battle of 1795. At Muizenberg, Percival met grenadiers of the 78<sup>th</sup>, 84<sup>th</sup>, 95<sup>th</sup> and 98<sup>th</sup> Regiments<sup>16</sup>. Six miles further, at the post of "Wineberg", he overnighted with the Light Companies of those regiments. The garrison at Cape Town was formed by the 28<sup>th</sup> Light Dragoons, the 95<sup>th</sup> and 98<sup>th</sup> Regiments under Major General Doyle, a passenger on Percival's ship, and

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<sup>14</sup> The Brenthurst Library, MS60, Major General Francis Dundas Papers. Sketches of the Political and Commercial History of the Cape of Good Hope, p 209, annotated: General Clarke's letter to Mr Dundas, dated 12 September 1795.

<sup>15</sup> The Brenthurst Library, MS60, op cit. p 209. John Bruce was a historiographer to the British East India Company.

<sup>16</sup> Percival, Robert. 1804. *An Account of the Cape of Good Hope*. London: C. and R. Baldwin, pp 24-27.

altogether some 4000 troops, without counting those going to Saldanha Bay.<sup>17</sup>

The post at Stickland, "16 miles from Cape Town on the road to Stellenbosch", contained barracks for the cavalry or infantry and stables for near half a regiment of dragoons. It was erected in 1796 on order of General Craig, "to keep in awe the turbulent Dutch farmers"<sup>18</sup>. General Doyle, on getting news of the victory over the Dutch at Saldanah Bay, drew out the garrison on the parade in front of the Castle, "to fire the *feu de joie*. The Dutch were exceedingly mortified at the capture of their fleet; for a strong party [of Jacobean] were ready to act ... against us"<sup>19</sup>, should a French or Dutch force appear in the future. This constant threat of invasion was very much on Major General Craig's mind. As soon as he gained the governorship he initiated a grand plan of fortifying the town and landing bays at the Cape with substantial fortification works.<sup>20</sup>

General Craig also realised the need for a locally raised cavalry corps. He had much admired the perseverance and *esprit de corps* of the *Pandours* (largely a Khoikhoi force) at the battle of Muizenberg and had taken the remains of the corps into British service. The consolidation of British authority in the interior was thus furthered by the formal establishment of the Hottentot Corps (later the Cape Mounted Riflemen) early in 1796. "Nothing I know", Craig remarked, "would intimidate the Boers of the Country more"<sup>21</sup>. It was evident to the British that, outside the ranks of Cape Town society, they were not popular<sup>22</sup>.

Thus the goals of the initial phase of the British 'government by decree' (or

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<sup>17</sup> General Craig was in the process of departing to Saldanha Bay bay with the greater part of the garrison to capture the Dutch fleet, which was attempting to retake the Cape. Admiral Elphinstone, who had been hastily recalled, led the successful operation.

<sup>18</sup> Percival, op cit. p 194.

<sup>19</sup> Percival, op cit. p 37.

<sup>20</sup> University of the Witwatersrand, A24, Craig Papers, 1797. See also: Seemann UA. 1993. *Forts and Fortifications at the Cape Peninsula 1781-1829*. University of Cape Town: Unpublished MSc thesis.

<sup>21</sup> Bouch, RJ. 1977. *Infantry in South Africa*. Pretoria: Document Services SADF, Publication 5, p 3.

<sup>22</sup> Streak, M. 1974. *The Afrikaner as Viewed by the English 1795-1854*. Cape Town: C. Struik (PTY) LTD, p 50.

martial law) had been established. Relative calm and peace prevailed. The Cape's Dutch elite had been partially won over with positions in civil government, albeit on direct orders from above. The Dutch middling classes and farmers quickly realised the advantages of making substantial profits by supplying lodging for officers, foodstuffs and other essential supplies to the British troops. A third factor contributed to the relatively good relations with the occupying forces at the Cape: the number of taverns, gambling houses and "houses of ill repute" to entertain the rank and file, who came mostly from the poorer sections of society, trebled in Cape Town alone in the first weeks of the occupation.

### 3.2 An interim civilian government: 1797 - 1803

During the first two years of British military rule by decree, the inner structure of the Cape's administration was left largely intact. In fact, it was carried out mostly by the same Dutch administrators and clerks. Dutch laws were left for the most part unchanged, with the exception of criminal law. The Commander-in-Chief had the sole right over life and death. "The barbarous mode of putting criminals to the torture was abolished", wrote Robert Percival to his satisfaction, forgetting his own countrymen's behaviour towards the less fortunate. "The Dutch always put their malefactors to death by the severest torments, ... General Craig changed the place of execution [to Green Point] ... and the instruments of torture were destroyed<sup>23</sup>".

The military administration was to last only until the new civilian Governor of the Cape, the administratively well experienced Earl Macartney, arrived. Craig was then to proceed to India. In the meantime, Major General Francis Dundas arrived on 18 November 1796 to assume charge of the military forces. The Navy at the Cape was under the separate command of a Rear Admiral, four of them from 1795 to 1803. While awaiting the arrival of the new governor, Dundas acted as

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<sup>23</sup> Percival, op cit. p 111.

Craig's second-in-command<sup>24</sup>. Meanwhile, Craig wrote his memorandum on the Cape's defences, which gives much insight into the workings of the professionals within the British Army. This memorandum and a military map by Lieut. Bridges of the Royal Engineers led us to York Redoubt, the focus of this thesis.

When Earl Macartney arrived at the Cape on 4 May 1797 to take over the reins as Governor of the Cape settlement and commander of the garrison, he brought with him an order from the cabinet that Dundas should assume the newly created post of Lieut. Governor of the Cape as well as commander of the garrison. Macartney was in poor health and if for any reason he was unable to perform his duty, Dundas was to take over.

Earl Macartney ordered the re-introduction of civil law and civil officers were put in place to administer the town and prevent lawlessness. The new governor adopted as his basic attitude the implementation of the English system of "civilised government"<sup>25</sup>. In this way Britain would slowly anglicise the institutions of the law and progress towards a more ordered society in the British sense, i.e. one which is ruled by common consent, not by individual whim. This would guarantee the political - as opposed to the military - security Britain sought in South Africa. Governor Macartney was convinced that the Cape should not be returned. "From the first moment of this Colony's being possessed by the British Government, it was considered as an object of the highest attention and regard, and a resolution was taken never to abandon it"<sup>26</sup>, Macartney declared in a letter written to the Burgher Senate, knowing that the British government under Pitt as Prime Minister had decided in 1796 to keep the Cape as a Crown Colony, although later British governments were of a different opinion.

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<sup>24</sup> Phillips, H. op cit. pp 1-3.

<sup>25</sup> Streak, op cit. p 53.

<sup>26</sup> Gilliomée, HB. 1971. *Die Kaap tydens die Eerste Britse Bewind, 1795 - 1803*. University of Stellenbosch: Unpublished PhD thesis, p 35.

Several new regiments were stationed at the Cape during this time. The Cape was used as a base for the re-inforcement of garrisons in India and the Americas.

Other regiments were on their way to and from Europe and the East Indies:

- In 1798 the 98<sup>th</sup> Regiment was renumbered the 91<sup>st</sup> Regiment,
- the 8<sup>th</sup> Dragoons, the 84<sup>th</sup> and the 95<sup>th</sup> Regiments were kept at the Cape,
- In January 1799 the 61<sup>st</sup> Foot, the 81<sup>st</sup> Foot and the 'Boy Regiments' of the 22<sup>nd</sup>, 34<sup>th</sup> and 65<sup>th</sup> Regiments strengthened the garrison at the Cape<sup>27</sup>.

General Dundas worked hard to mould his regiments into an efficient body. He promoted Colonel Vandeleur of the 8<sup>th</sup> Dragoons to Brigadier General under him and Captain Sherlock, also of the 8<sup>th</sup> Dragoons to Major of Brigade, reporting to Vandeleur. The mutiny by the seamen and marines at Simon's Town, 7-11 October 1797 provided the first challenge to Dundas and Admiral Pringle's disciplinary measures. However, the rank and file of the army remained calm. Subsequent measures taken by the Admiralty made it clear to any would-be mutineers that defiance of orders was punished swiftly and surely<sup>28</sup>.

On 5 May 1797 Andrew Barnard and his wife Lady Anne Barnard arrived at the Cape. Andrew Barnard was to act as Colonial Secretary to Governor Macartney. The Governor had not brought out his wife and Lady Anne therefore acted as hostess on many official occasions. Lord Macartney left on 21 November 1798 for England due to ill-health; and Major General Dundas became Acting Governor. Dundas worked on the principle that British policy should alienate the inhabitants of the colony as little as possible and should assure the preservation of law and order. With regard to the British forces Dundas made some improvements to the provisions and living conditions of the ordinary soldiers. Medical care and conditions in the army hospitals became a good deal more professional. The officers as members of the upper classes had always had the means and the connections in high government to live comfortably and were well

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<sup>27</sup> Boys aged 12 - 16, being orphans or in other ways a burden on the English parishes, were recruited by force.



attended to.

Thirteen months of strict military control and good co-operation between Dundas and the Dutch came to an end with Sir George Yonge's arrival as new Governor at the Cape. The harmony between Macartney, acting in civilian matters and Dundas as military commander, each an expert in his own field, was not to be repeated. In fact, Yonge took his title as 'Commander-in-Chief' rather too literally. Yonge laid down that "except in routine military matters, all future general orders not issued by the Governor or officers empowered to do this by him, had to have his personal approval before publication"<sup>29</sup>. Various disputes, military and civilian, followed with the result that Yonge was recalled in April 1801. Once again, Dundas took over as Acting Governor and Commander-in-Chief.

As a result of the ratification of the peace treaty between Britain and France, the Batavian Republic's General JW Janssens and Commissioner-General JA De Mist arrived in Cape Town in December 1802. The British gave them a "rousing 19 gun welcome salute"<sup>30</sup>. It was arranged to hand over the settlement on 1 January 1803, but at noon on 31 December, a "most secret" despatch was received by Dundas, which instructed him to delay the restitution of the Cape of Good Hope to the Batavian Government. Dundas reacted with professional military efficiency. About nine hundred British soldiers disembarked from their troop ships and re-occupied the Castle. The soldiers, who were still at Wynberg, took possession of the blockhouses above the town on Devil's Peak. In the early afternoon of this day Janssens and De Mist were told that the British had retaken the key defence positions<sup>31</sup>. The Batavian rulers-in-waiting and General Dundas decided not to resolve the conflict by military means. A series of measures was taken to preserve calm and keep the troops in order. A stern proclamation was issued by Dundas and De Mist against "ill-disposed parts of the community" and

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<sup>28</sup> Phillips, H. op cit. p 8.

<sup>29</sup> Phillips, H. op cit. p 43.

<sup>30</sup> Phillips, H. op cit. pp 71-72.

<sup>31</sup> The previous sentences were taken from Phillips, H. op cit, who expressed himself succinctly.

a practical program was worked out to keep order at the Cape. "50 agonising days after Hobart's 'most secret dispatch' arrived", wrote Phillips, "uncertainty was ended and instructions received to proceed with the transfer".

Dundas' handling of the Cape's affairs was cautious and reconciliatory, competent and unspectacular. The burghers recognised it as such, having been subtly influenced by British standards. Dundas' last proclamation absolved all inhabitants at the Cape from their oath to King George III. In his own sober fashion, Dundas summed up his tenure at the Cape, which ended on 20 February 1803 with the return of the colony to the Batavian Republic as such:

"... If my endeavours for the public Service in the Colonial administration of the Settlement ... proved unsuccessful ...[it is only due to] ill fortune or my want of ability, not deficiency of exertion"<sup>32</sup>.

### 3.3 Consolidation of the British colonial government: 1806 - 1815

With the renewal of hostilities between Britain and the combined forces of France, the Batavian Republic and Spain, the British Government decided to recapture the Cape. The same reasons for occupation of the settlement applied as in 1795, with an added incentive, namely that the French and Dutch were able to break the continental blockade. They could embark or transport goods in any vessel belonging to the United States and sail via the Cape of Good Hope.

The fleet of sixty three ships assembled under the command of Commodore Popham in Southern England. The troops under Major General Sir David Baird were composed of the following regiments:

- 20<sup>th</sup> Light Dragoons,
- 24<sup>th</sup> Regiment,
- 38<sup>th</sup> Regiment,
- 59<sup>th</sup> Regiment,

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<sup>32</sup> Phillips, H. op cit. p 73.

- 71<sup>st</sup> Regiment,
- 72<sup>nd</sup> Regiment,
- 83<sup>rd</sup> Regiment,
- 86<sup>th</sup> Regiment,
- 93<sup>rd</sup> Regiment,

320 Royal Artillerymen and the Royal Engineers.

The whole force consisted of 6697 persons including 190 officers, 213 sergeants, 4416 rank and file, 128 drummers, 22 bombardiers, 20 surgeons, 6 quartermasters and 6 paymasters. There were also 366 women, 278 children and 21 civilians on board<sup>33</sup>.

Major General Baird knew the Cape for he had served there in 1798. He chose to land his force at Losperd's Bay, north of Cape Town, on 6 January 1806. The troops under the Dutch commander JW Janssens faced the well-trained advancing British lines behind the Blaauwberg Hill. The Dutch defence crumbled and scattered, largely due to the desertion of the Waldeck Mercenary Regiment. The Waldeckers were immediately enlisted into the British service, as was the Hottentot Regiment, henceforth known as the Cape Regiment.

General Baird assumed the civil administration as acting governor on 10 January 1806. He retained most government officials provided they took an oath of allegiance to King George III of England. All the judges of the High Court of Justice, except Justices Strubberg and Hiddingh, resigned. New judges were appointed and their powers reduced to those they possessed in 1803, before the British left. Willem Stephanus van Ryneveld was again appointed fiscal and vice president of the court of justice<sup>34</sup>. General Baird did not set out to change the civil administration, but to secure the peace and tranquillity of the colony until the new Governor, Lord Caledon and Major General Henry George Grey, commander of

<sup>33</sup> Brinton, op cit. p 24.

<sup>34</sup> Theal, George McCall. op cit. pp 129-130.

the forces, arrived from England. Mr Andrew Barnard was restored to his old office as Colonial Secretary.

The Cape Colony was to be administered by five governors between 1806 and 1820. Besides Baird and Grey, acting governor from 17 January 1807 to 21 May 1807 and 4 July to 5 September 1811, respectively:

- The Earl of Caledon governed from 22 May 1807 to 4 July 1811,
- Sir John Cradock from 6 September 1811 to 5 April 1814, and
- Lord Charles Somerset from 6 April 1814 to 13 January 1820.

These governors were influential in changing the nature and customs of Cape Society. On the whole, the growth in professionalism in government administration and the continuing adamant opposition to a greater representative role for the colonists stand out as the dominant forces during Caledon and Somerset's authoritarian regimes<sup>35</sup>.

During the years 1807 to 1809 the troops were involved in few military engagements. Garrison life became rather monotonous, only interrupted by drills, manoeuvres, sentry duties, inspections and the like. The Royal Artillery occupied the Castle. Infantry and cavalry regiments, up to three thousand men or more, were stationed at the Cape colony at any given time<sup>36</sup>. In 1810 the garrison list included the 21<sup>st</sup> Light Dragoons, 47<sup>th</sup> Regiment of Foot and the 60<sup>th</sup> Regiment Foot (Appendix 2). However, this force was dispersed by being sent to the outlying districts.

Only part of the Royal Artillery and the Royal Engineers, the 21<sup>st</sup> Light Dragoons, 83<sup>rd</sup> Regiment of Foot and the 93<sup>rd</sup> Regiment of Foot remained to garrison the Cape Peninsula<sup>37</sup>. Lord Caledon, the governor, had been rather reluctant to incur

<sup>35</sup> Elphick, R. and Giliomee, H. (Eds). 1989. *The Shaping of South African Society, 1652-1840*. Cape Town: Maskew Miller Longman, p 344.

<sup>36</sup> Viney, G. and Brooke Simons, P. 1994. *The Cape of Good Hope 1806 to 1872*. Houghton: The Brenthurst Press, p 83.

<sup>37</sup> De Villiers, J. 1989. *Die Cape Regiment, 1806-1817, 'n Koloniale Regiment in Britse Diens*. Pretoria: Die Staatsdrukker, p 31, footnote 48.

extra expenses. It was not until Sir John Cradock assumed office in 1811 that the military were constructively engaged to enforce "British order" on the colony's eastern borders. Clashes between white settlers and Xhosa over grazing land in the Zuurveld led to the campaign, which was to be known as the 4<sup>th</sup> Kaffir War<sup>38</sup>. Colonel John Graham was appointed to take charge of the border operations. Graham commanded a detachment of the 21<sup>st</sup> Light Dragoons, Royal Artillery, the 83<sup>rd</sup> Regiment and the Cape Regiment. The latter was intended for bush or guerrilla warfare. In 1814 the 19<sup>th</sup> Regiment Foot disembarked in Table Bay to re-inforce the defence of the newly created Albany district of the Cape Colony. Sergeant George Calladine of the 19<sup>th</sup> Foot kept a diary of his stay at the Cape Colony and described the inhabitants as such:

"I could not believe there had been so many features among mankind ... first you observe the English soldier, then the inhabitants of Cape Town, who are Dutch ... then a mixed breed amongst the Dutch, English and the Natives ... the Coast of Guinea negro, the squat Hottentot. I certainly saw little naked children about which if I had seen nothing of them but their faces I should have taken them for Monkeys"<sup>39</sup>

In the eyes of a 'superior' Englishman, at the apex of the colourful human triangle at the Cape was the English officer, with the "little native monkeys" crowded at the bottom.

At the close of 1815 (after the battle of Waterloo) the British Regiments stationed at the Cape Peninsula were reduced to the 21<sup>st</sup> Dragoons, 402 strong, the 60<sup>th</sup> Regiment with 960 men, the 83<sup>rd</sup> consisting of 863 officers and men, about 90 gunner-drivers of the Royal Artillery and a few sappers and miners. The sappers were set to work making roads and passes, designed by the Royal Engineers.

The regiments were stationed in and around Cape Town. One of the transitional camps was established on the fringes of Rondebosch Common, which was used

<sup>38</sup> The word 'Kaffir' with its perjorative meaning has been avoided as far as possible, but retained when text was cited directly in its historical context, when it had different connotations.

<sup>39</sup> Brinton, op cit. p 30.

for drill practise, to train the artillery, inspect the regiments, etc.

In November 1807, for instance, tents were pitched at the edge of the Common for the

- 87<sup>th</sup> and 89<sup>th</sup> Foot Regiments,
- the 72<sup>nd</sup> and 93<sup>rd</sup> Highland regiments,
- Major Collin's 83<sup>rd</sup> Foot Regiment,
- the fourth battalion of the 60<sup>th</sup> Foot and
- a battalion Royal Engineers<sup>40</sup>.

The Cape Corps was stationed at Wynberg and Rietvlei, when in the Cape Peninsula. The camp at Muizenberg was garrisoned and at Simon's Town, where the garrison consisted of a regiment of a thousand men<sup>41</sup>. The remainder manned the forts and fortifications around the Cape Peninsula and, increasingly, the fortifications and redoubts on the eastern border. James Ewart, an officer of the 93<sup>rd</sup> Regiment arrived in Simon's Town in 1811 to meet a large detachment of his regiment. On his way to Cape Town he inspected "at Winberg [sic] ... barracks for about 600 men, with a proportional number of small hutts [sic] for officers which being scatter'd among the foliage on the west side, with gardens attached to them, render it a pleasant quarter. The Cape or Hottentot Regiment was stationed there"<sup>42</sup>. This was the beginning of the Wynberg military camp, which is still in use.

After 1806 the number of British civil servants at the Cape increased somewhat at the expense of the Dutch administrative class. The Burgher Senate remained an appointed body, regulating town and country civil order. To curb dictatorial tendencies, there were several limitations on the power of the British governors<sup>43</sup>. The colonists could, in theory at least, directly petition the Colonial Office, thus bypassing the governor. Civil and military jurisdictions had been separated in

<sup>40</sup> Viney & Brooke Simons, op cit. p 82.

<sup>41</sup> Viney & Brooke Simons, op cit. p 83.

<sup>42</sup> *James Ewart's Journal, Covering his Stay at the Cape of Good Hope (1811-1814)*. Cape Town: C. Struck(PTY.) LTD, reprint 1970, p 16.

1807. The British were slow to introduce legal changes at the Cape. They made a start at modifying Cape law to conform to British models<sup>44</sup>. Economic conditions improved considerably as monopolies were abolished. The colonial merchants gained access to international markets, albeit through British agents. The garrison had to be housed and fed at considerable expense, which benefited the builders, artisans, and slaves out for hire and the farmers. On the whole relations between ruler and ruled were cordial and restrained during the first decade of the second British occupation.

One of the goals of this research project was to contribute to the growing understanding of the nature of the transformation of the material culture of Cape society. It is argued that not only did "anglicization" of the Cape population spread from the 'top down', but was informed daily by interaction between the lower classes and the military 'rank and file'. In the next chapter this point will be illustrated by using a wealth of archaeological data from one of the few surviving military camps, York Redoubt, on the slopes of Devil's Peak just outside the boundaries of the city.

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<sup>43</sup> Elphick & Giliomee, op cit. pp 344-346.

<sup>44</sup> Elphick & Giliomee, op cit. p 347.

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## CHAPTER 4

### YORK REDOUBT

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#### 4.1 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

York Redoubt was one of a string of small fortification works that complemented the 'French Line' of defence reaching up to the higher slopes of Devil's Peak. The line, built between 1781 and 1783 began with Fort Knokke (built in 1743-44) on the shore of Table Bay and consisted of small forts and redoubts, connected by earthworks and a ditch facing the Cape Flats to the East (Fig. 3). They were to prevent a land attack on the town and Castle, the military headquarters. After the British take-over in 1795, General Craig carefully inspected the defence works around the Cape Peninsula and consequently ordered an intensive fortification repair and building program. The Royal Engineer Corps executed this program with the assistance of fortification workers, soldiers and slaves, the latter formerly the property of the VOC.

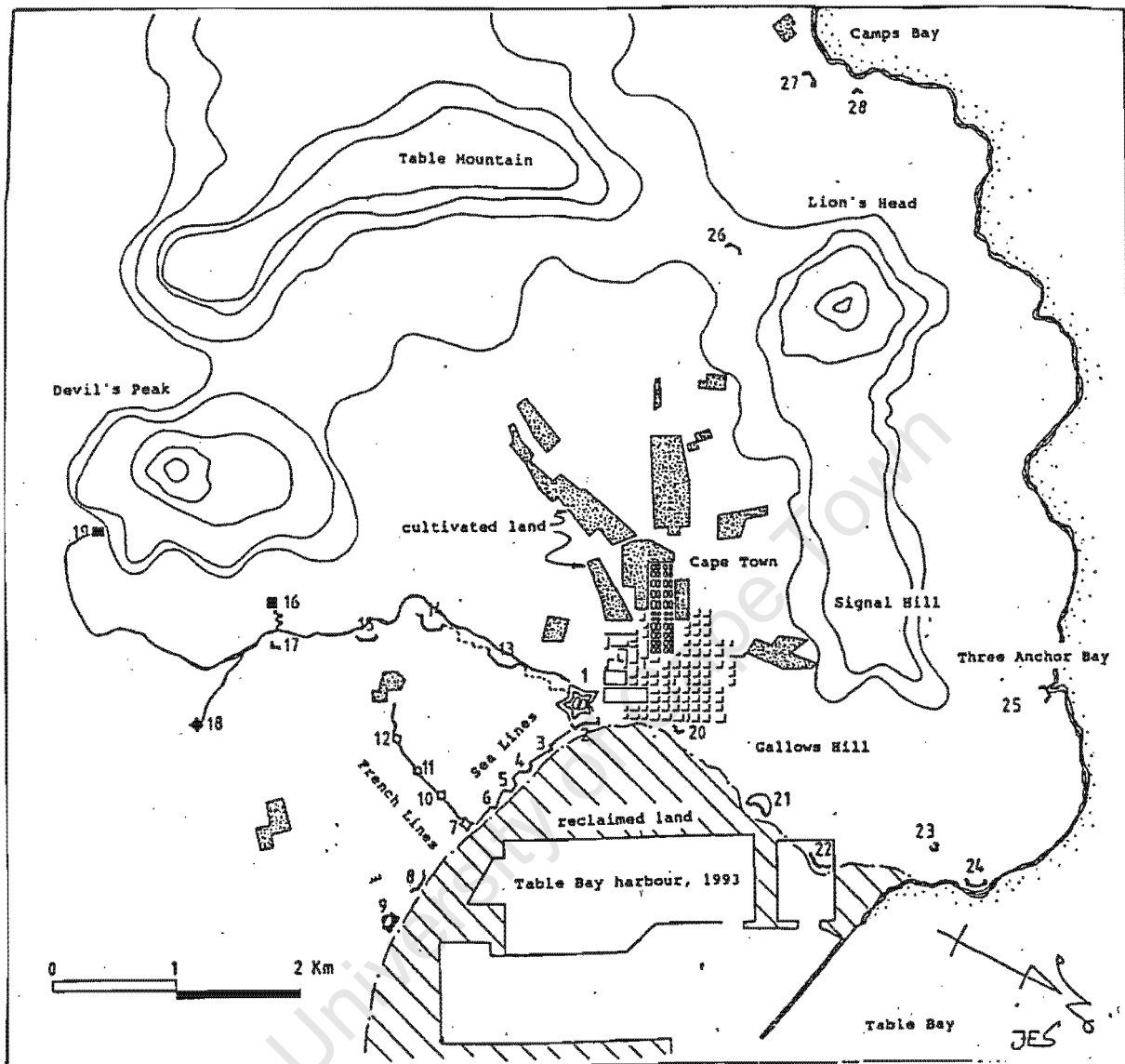
One of the first priorities was to build a good military road from the Castle to the highest slope of Devil's Peak (Fig. 3)<sup>1</sup>. This was completed well before October 1797. "The Road of Communication ascending the Heights under the Devils Berg for moving Field Pieces to the points of defence is now entirely ready, having been made by order of Sir James Henry Craig"<sup>2</sup>, wrote Capt. G Bridges in his report of 1797. An old VOC signal station, one in a series connecting Simon's Bay and Hout Bay with the Castle and which overlooked both Hout Bay

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<sup>1</sup> This road is still in use.

<sup>2</sup> Cape Archives, A33/1, p 3.





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|--|-------------------------------------|
| 1. The Castle                          | 15. Cradock Battery                 |
| 2. Imhoff Battery                      | 16. York (later Queen's) Blockhouse |
| 3. Battery Elisabeth                   | 17. York Redoubt                    |
| 4. Battery Helena                      | 18. Prince of Wales Blockhouse      |
| 5. Battery Charlotte                   | 19. King's Blockhouse               |
| 6. Battery Tulbagh                     | 20. Rogge Bay Battery               |
| 7. Fort Knokke                         | 21. Amsterdam Battery               |
| 8. Intermediaire Battery               | 22. Chavonne Battery                |
| 9. Nieuwe Battery, later Craig's Tower | 23. Kyk-in-de-pot Battery           |
| 10. Holland's redoubt                  | 24. Groote Mouille Battery          |
| 11. Centre Redoubt                     | 25. Three Anchor Bay Battery        |
| 12. Burgher Redoubt                    | 26. Kloof Nek Battery               |
| 13. Battery Coehoorn                   | 27/28. Camps Bay batteries          |
| 14. Battery Gordon                     |                                     |

Fig. 3. Fortifications in Table Bay, 1815. Redrawn by Jorge E'Silva from a map by the Royal Engineers, signed by Captain G. Bridges, 1798. (Cape Archives, M1/1980-1984).

and Table Bay, was rebuilt as a formidable blockhouse, the King's Blockhouse. Several other blockhouses and smaller earthworks, consisting of only a ditch and rampart, as well as artillery parks, were built over the next year at strategic points along the military road (Fig. 4).

York Redoubt, probably named after Frederick Augustus, Duke of York and Albany, Commander-in-Chief of the British army from 1795 to 1815<sup>3</sup>, was one of the smaller redoubts (Fig. 5). It was situated next to a branch of the military road and a gully with a small, perennial stream. The Redoubt lay directly in line with the Burgher Redoubt, which was located just below the present day De Waal Drive, and the Queen's Blockhouse, originally known as "York Blockhouse and Battery", higher up the mountain. Further southeast, at the same height as York Redoubt, the Prince of Wales Blockhouse dominated the lower slopes of the mountain and the approach to the town. In the words of General Craig:

"The best and most secure landing [of an enemy fleet] ... is that most likely to take place on Paarden Island ... the Lines have been repaired nearly upon the plan on which we found them; ... the Object has been to put all the redoubts in a state capable of resisting an attack by a Coup de Main; ... the principal and most important point is the new Redoubt and battery of 5 twenty four Pounders on the height immediately over the termination of the lines which I have named York Redoubt and battery, - these guns have a most effectual command particularly on the Ground immediately under them in front of the Burgher Redoubt - Indeed this point may be termed the Key of the Position as upon it entirely depends the possession of the Lines"<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> Chandler, D. & Beckett, I. (Eds). 1994. *The Oxford Illustrated History of the British Army*. Oxford University Press, pp 144/5. Throughout the period of his office, the engineers and artillery remained answerable only to the Master-General of the Ordnance, Woolwich, London.

<sup>4</sup> University of the Witwatersrand Library, A24, Craig Papers: Memorandum of General Craig on the Cape's Defences, dated 1796, pp 42-43,

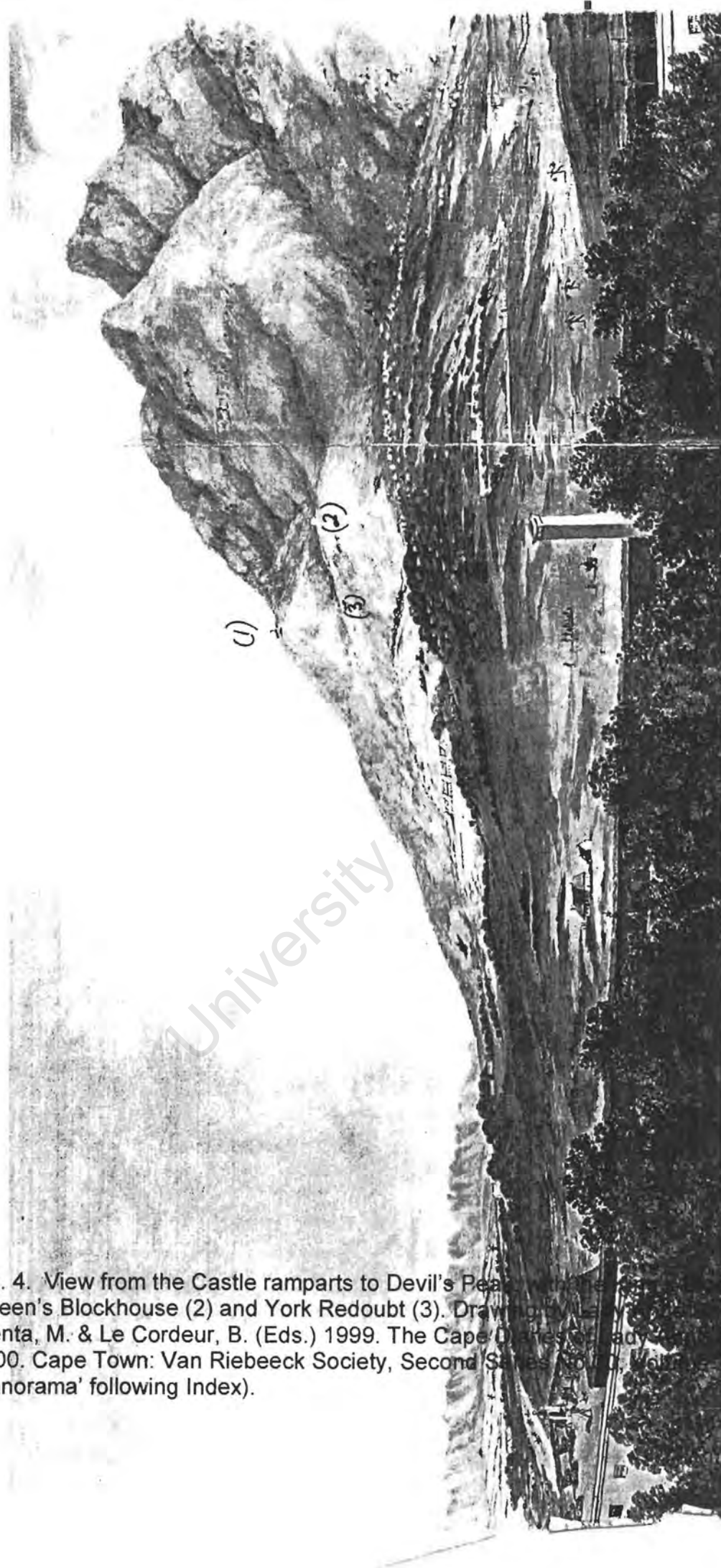


Fig. 4. View from the Castle ramparts to Devil's Peak, with the Queen's Blockhouse (1), Queen's Blockhouse (2) and York Redoubt (3). Drawing by L. Barnard, 1798. (Lenta, M. & Le Cordeur, B. (Eds.) 1999. The Cape of Good Hope, 1799-1800. Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society, Second Series No. 10, Volume 1:1800, 'Panorama' following Index).

The work was carried out under Captains George Bridges and William Kersteman. Bridges was appointed Commanding Officer of the Royal Engineers under General Clarke for the expedition to the Cape. He remained until April 1801, during which time he made a full report on the Cape's defences. This work was made easier by his acquaintance with Louis Michel Thibault, the fortification engineer and architect, formerly employed by the VOC, whose portfolio was shown to Captain Bridges<sup>5</sup>. A friendship sprang up between the two men. They frequently exchanged opinions and Thibault complimented the English engineer: "I must here give credit to Captain Bridges who, during this period of war, has fortified the Cape so as to withstand siege, but he agrees with me that in time of peace all his efforts will have to make way for a more effective system of defence"<sup>6</sup>. Thibault's knowledge of the fortification works and the best building contractors was of great value to the new government. Captain William Kersteman was sent to the Cape in 1801 and remained there until the evacuation in 1803.

Both men had arrived at the Cape with up to twenty years experience in defence engineering in England, America and the West Indies<sup>7</sup>. The rank and file of the artillery Corps, sappers and miners, artificers (tradesmen) and soldier masons were constantly engaged in construction work. Captain Bridges reported detailed descriptions of work done on a yearly basis. For instance, the report of work performed from the capture of the Cape in 1795 to 19 October 1797 recorded York Redoubt only indirectly, in that, "... at the Position above the York Redoubt A Tower 24 feet square and 3 stories high [was] completely finished .. and the Distance from Fort Knokke to York Redoubt [is] 1931 yards"<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> De Puyfontaine, Hugette Roy. 1972. *Louis Michel Thibault 1750 - 1815, his Official Life at the Cape*. Cape Town: Tafelberg Publishers, p 16. Thibault had been reluctant to swear the oath of allegiance to the British King and was therefore unable to enter into British service.

<sup>6</sup> De Puyfontaine, op cit. p 19. Thibault considered himself still in the service of the Netherlands (renamed the Batavian Republic). The Batavian Republic was an ally of France and thus at war with Britain.

<sup>7</sup> Letter to the author from the Royal Engineers Museum, Brampton Barracks, Chatham, England, curator Dr John Rhodes TD, dated 20 November 1997, ref: M3/16.10 Bridges, Kersteman.

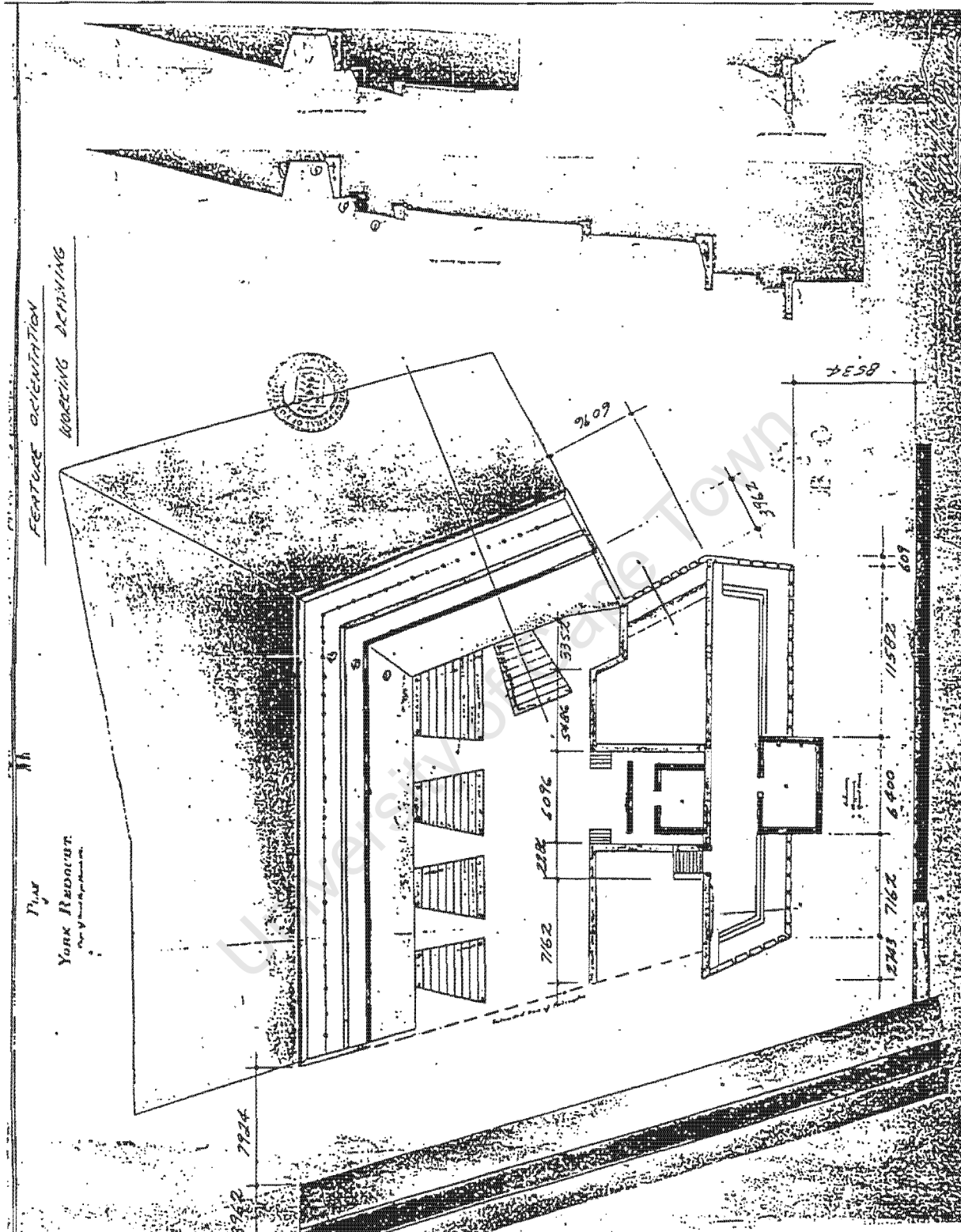


Fig. 5. Royal Engineers drawing of York Redoubt, 1815. (Public Records Office, Kew, MPH 707, No 1). Conversion to metric measurements (in mm) by the author.

<sup>8</sup> Cape Archives, Acc 33/1, Military - abstracts of works performed.

The slaves working on the fortification belonged now to the British government<sup>9</sup>, who housed, fed, clothed and took better care of them than their former VOC masters in accordance with the ideals of 'enlightenment'. The Commissioner Generals' Department at the Cape paid for the slaves' upkeep. For instance, in the year ending May 1798 the slave lodge was paid £3340,13s<sup>10</sup>. General Craig "has been graciously pleased to bestow them to His Naval & Military Forces ... and [they] employed them constantly in various branches of His Majesty's Service, principally working on the fortification ... it would not be possible to do without them"<sup>11</sup>. Many slaves had been trained by the Dutch as masons and general fortification workers. Henry Dundas, Secretary of War and Colonies agreed with Craig, that "not less than 200 may be usefully attached, as Pioneers, to the 84<sup>th</sup> and 86<sup>th</sup> regiments, for the service, on which they are ordered to proceed"<sup>12</sup>. Apparently the slaves' work was very satisfactory and they were well regarded by the supervisors.

Richard Renshaw, a Royal Artillery Officer who arrived in Simon's Town in May 1796, visited York Redoubt. He was very impressed with the work being done to strengthen the Cape's defences and lauded the "skills and indefatigable labours of Colonel York of the Royal Artillery.... The batteries erected at the different posts around the Cape are very numerous ... the principal are Craig's Tower, Yorke's [sic] Redoubt ... in a word, Cape Town is at this time fortified with strength, regularity and judgement"<sup>13</sup>. John Bruce was equally impressed by General Craig's efforts to secure the Castle: "This ground is now occupied as high as the commencement of the perpendicular rocky side of the Devill's Hill, by various redoubts, galleries, & blockhouses; which command each other

<sup>9</sup> The slaves were declared 'prizes of war', together with other VOC property. Their value was estimated and the 'prize money' distributed amongst the army and navy personnel according to a pre-arranged formula.

<sup>10</sup> University of the Witwatersrand Library, A88, Earl Macartney Papers, (298), Estimate of military Expenditure.

<sup>11</sup> University of the Witwatersrand Library, A24, Craig Papers, letter from Craig to Henry Dundas, dated 26 October 1796.

<sup>12</sup> University of the Witwatersrand Library, A88, Earl Macartney Papers (53), letter dated 18 February 1797.

<sup>13</sup> Renshaw, Richard. 1821. *Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope, the Indian Ocean, and up the Red Sea*.... Manchester: M Wilson, third edition, 1821, pp 31-32.

& the advance ground to the castle”<sup>14</sup>. The Colonial and War Office in London had spent an inordinate amount of money to secure the Cape, whilst the war in Europe went on relentlessly. York Redoubt is mentioned in Captain Dougal Carmichael’s account of the occupation of the Cape in 1806, as “one of the chief annoyances to an enemy approaching by land ... erected high up on the hill ...”<sup>15</sup>.

York Redoubt was again mentioned in the Report on the State of the Forts and Batteries and Field Ordnance in April 1812 and described as such:

“... York Redoubt is a work about Four Hundred yards immediately below York Blockhouse. It has a magazine containing two Hundred and ten Rounds of Ammunition for the Guns and Three Thousand Musquet ball Cartridges for the Troops. – In the works are mounted Five 24 Pounder Iron Dutch Guns, one on an Iron Carriage on Wooden Platforms, and near it Two Brass 6 Pounder Dutch Guns on Travelling Carriages. – This work is now undergoing a complete alteration. Signed: Henry Smart Capt. Commanding Royal Engineers & A Warton, Major Commanding Royal Artillery<sup>16</sup>”.

During the following years the upkeep of the defences in the Cape Peninsula came second to the war effort on the eastern frontier. York Redoubt, together with all military property in the Cape Colony, was transferred from the Military Secretary’s Office to the Ordnance Department of the Cape of Good Hope on 1 July 1829<sup>17</sup> and subsequently fell into disrepair. Through the rest of the nineteenth century, the site was abandoned and little known. In June 1918 Mr JHR De Smidt, a retired government surveyor, sketched the remains of the earthworks and walls of York Redoubt during one of his *reconnaissance* trips along the slopes of Devil’s Peak<sup>18</sup>(Fig. 6).

<sup>14</sup> The Brenthurst Library, MS60, Dundas, Major General Papers, Sketches of the Cape of Good Hope by John Bruce, p 218.

<sup>15</sup> *Cape Monthly Magazine*, August 1859, pp 111-112.

<sup>16</sup> Cape Archives, VC 214 (4).

<sup>17</sup> Cape Archives, CO 477 / No 1, letter from WB Dundas to the Respective Officers of Ordnance.

<sup>18</sup> Mr De Smidt’s retirement years were taken up by researching and recording the remains of ‘Early Fortification at the Cape Peninsula’. He found the remains of Cradock Redoubt close to York Redoubt, but today these are not visible to the untrained eye.



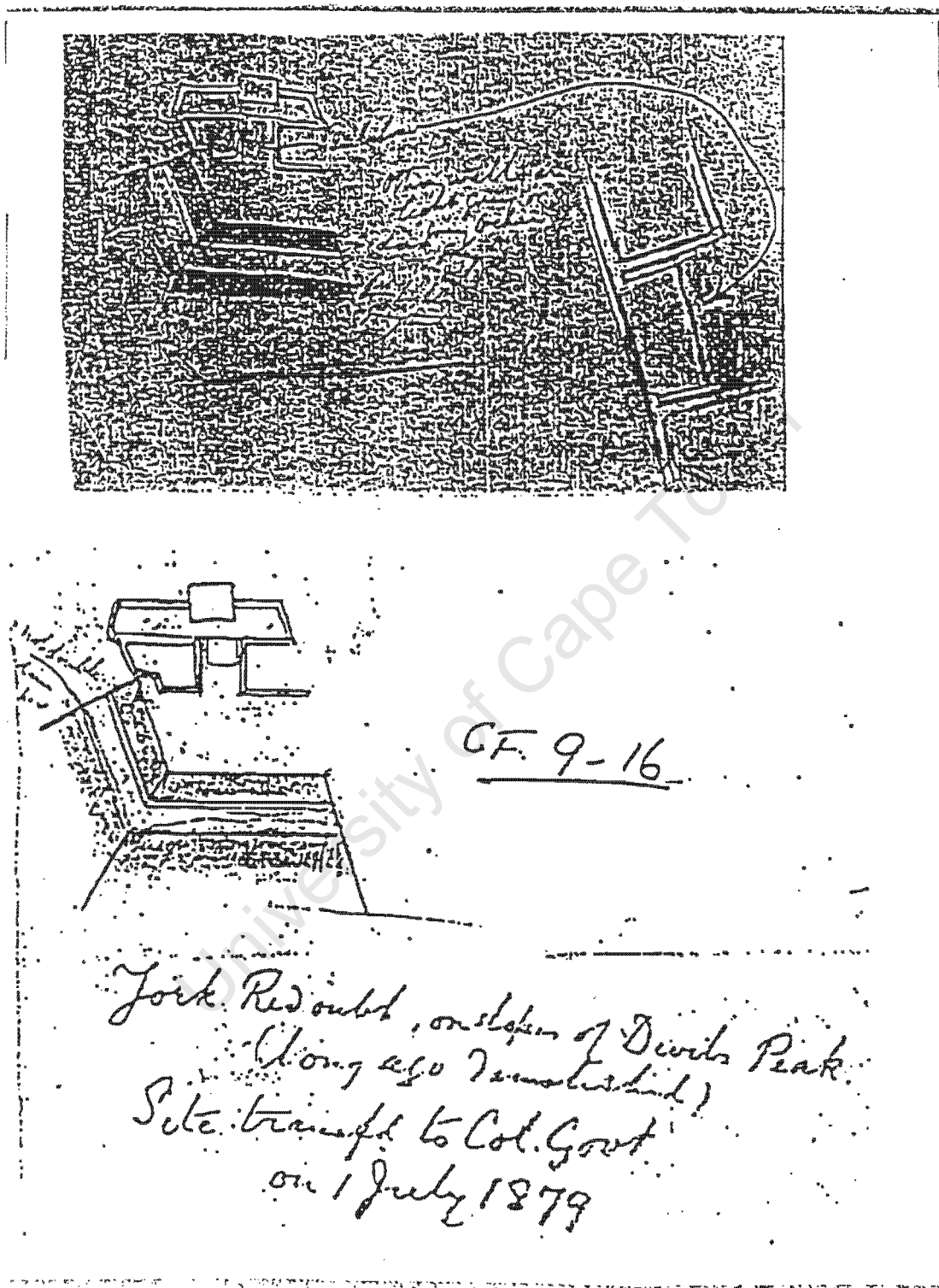


Fig. 6. York Redoubt on the slopes of Devil's Peak, as sketched in 1918 by Mr JHR de Smidt. (Library of Parliament, Acc No 355.450968711).



## 4.2 THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF YORK REDOUBT

Having examined the documentary sources, it is now time to turn to the archaeological evidence. In 1996, having excavated test trenches at Rondebosch Common<sup>19</sup> and the Central Redoubt in Trafalgar Park, Woodstock<sup>20</sup> for artefactual remains left behind by British army personnel and having found only scant remains, attention was turned to York Redoubt. The fortification had been noted in 1992 during a survey of the remains of Dutch and British defence works at the Cape Peninsula<sup>21</sup>. Excavations were undertaken in order to recover cultural material, which would lead to new insights and aspects of historical interpretations of the period 1795 to 1815.

### 4.2.1 Excavations at York Redoubt

Only the ramparts and ditch of York Redoubt were still recognisable. The area, formerly inside the redoubt, bordered east and north (downslope) by the ramparts, west by a ditch and gully and some 40 m upslope by a recently used platform, was covered by thorny shrub vegetation, commonly known as 'hottentot se kooigoed', *Helichrysum patulum*<sup>22</sup>. Guided by a Royal Engineers' drawing of York Redoubt (Fig. 5) this undergrowth was partially penetrated, the ground inspected (visibility was fair), and the extent of the artefactual debris surveyed. Because of the remoteness of the redoubt from town and suburbs and the protective layer of eroded mountain soil covering the site, it was hoped that artefactual remains would be well preserved. A ca 14 m wide path along the redoubt's centre axis from the middle to the upper terrace area was cleared from all vegetation protruding above ground. It was clearly evident, that, due to the steep slope of the mountainside, the interior area of York Redoubt was

<sup>19</sup> A short report and the artefacts have been handed to Prof AB Smith, University of Cape Town, Department of Archaeology.

<sup>20</sup> Report to the National Monuments Council (now known as SAHRA), Western Cape Branch, Cape Town, 1997.

<sup>21</sup> Seemann, UA. 1993. *Forts and Fortification at the Cape Peninsula, 1781 – 1829*. University of Cape Town: Unpublished MSc thesis.

<sup>22</sup> Maythem-Kidd, Mary. 1950. *Cape Peninsula Wildflower Guide*. Oxford University Press. The Khoikhoi used the branches (the thorns removed) as bedding material.

divided into three artificial terraces. A centre baseline was established running uphill in a southeasterly direction. The baseline crossed a protruding dressed stone (Fig. 7). It was hoped that the baseline would run through the magazine and the guardhouse, which proved to be the case. The lower part of the redoubt's area was not cleared as it contained the gun positions, which were generally kept tidy<sup>23</sup>. A visible, low retaining wall divided the lower from the middle terrace. The upper terrace contained a larger, flat area. Besides the ditch and rampart facing east and north, a ditch between the road and the gully on the western end of York Redoubt was discernible. A drain, lined with shale slabs and crossing under the road, served as overflow for the lowest lying ditch.



Fig. 7. York Redoubt, baseline through the magazine and guardhouse, 1996.

<sup>23</sup> See: Seemann, 1989 and 1993, op cit.

We then turned our attention to the Royal Engineer's drawing of York Redoubt, dated to 1815<sup>24</sup>. Imperial measurements (in inches and yards) were converted into metric measurements and the location of specific architectural features, such as the magazine and the guardhouse, estimated and outlined on the ground. The overburden in these specific areas on the middle and upper terraces – fallen debris, rocks and groundcover - was carefully removed. Red *klinkers*<sup>25</sup>, dressed stones, soft orange bricks, fragments of glass and ceramics led us to believe that the excavation of these areas would be profitable.

As it turned out, the remains of the magazine on the middle terrace was filled with debris and midden material. Weathering, erosion and perhaps human intervention had caused the material to settle further down the slope some time after. Most of the dressed stone from the guardhouse and the rear wall of the magazine had collapsed and then been 'cannibalised' to build and maintain the military and forestry roads on the slopes of Devil's Peak.

#### 4.2.2 The built environment

From the documentary evidence it is known that York Redoubt was occupied by the infantry and artillery from 1796 to 1829. Thereafter, it can be assumed to have been used – amongst other purposes - as a picnic spot, a meeting place for slaves and/or secret societies, a place for religious gatherings of people of the Muslem faith, for all of which there is some material evidence. The slopes on Devil's Peak around the blockhouses were also used as training camps for the British army during the late nineteenth century<sup>26</sup>. An aforestation program was initiated on the hillside during the last decade of the nineteenth century, which might have necessitated the use of the flat area on the upper terrace. A plan of the excavated areas within York Redoubt is shown in Figure 8.

<sup>24</sup> Public Records Office, Kew, MPH 707, No1. Dated 1815.

<sup>25</sup> Imported Dutch clay bricks, fired at very high temperatures. *Klinkers* are hardwearing and were often used in ovens, kilns, for floor tiling and doorways.

<sup>26</sup> During a survey of the Devil's Peak area in 1992, after an extensive *veld* fire, masses of debris



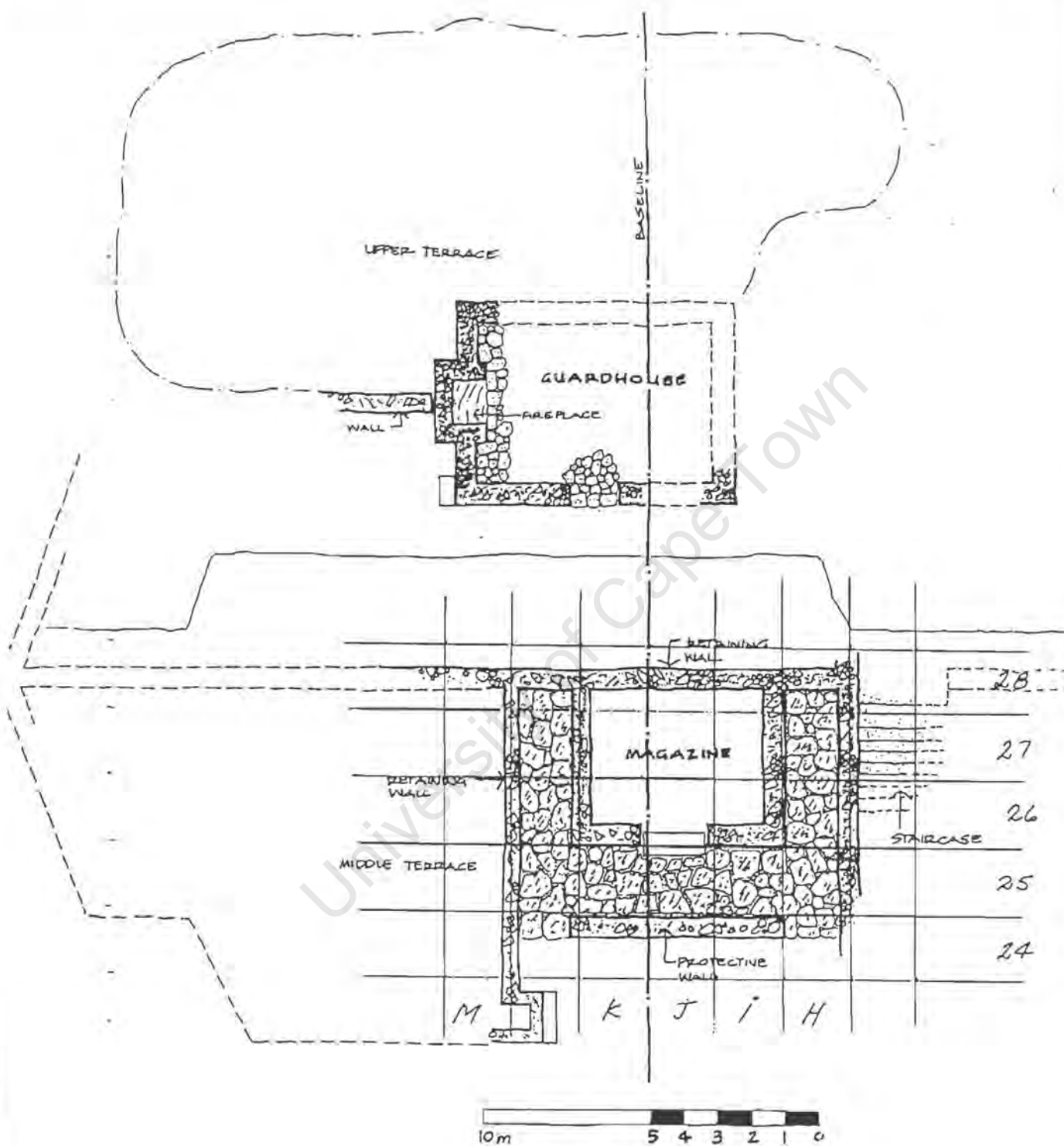


Fig. 8. Plan of the excavated area of York Redoubt, 1996.

the British army had left behind, including 'baked' tentfloors, were found.

The remains of the magazine building, the protective wall in front its entrance door; retaining walls and the stairs to the upper level with its guardhouse were clearly identified. The building material for all buildings and retaining walls on site were cut and dressed sandstone found in the vicinity on the mountain. The magazine was carefully plastered inside and out. Entrance steps to the guardhouse and magazine consisted of a single dressed stone (Fig. 9).



Fig. 9. Entrance to the magazine, after excavation of half of the infill. 1996.

The magazine's floor consisted of rows of shale fragments, upon which a wooden floor was laid (Fig. 10). This was one measure to prevent the stored gunpowder from being accidentally ignited. Within the debris in the magazine a layer of grey shale and/or red crushed brick suggested a collapsed, flat roof. Between the protective wall in front of the entrance, the retaining walls and the magazine the area was carefully paved so as to leave a water run-off channel.



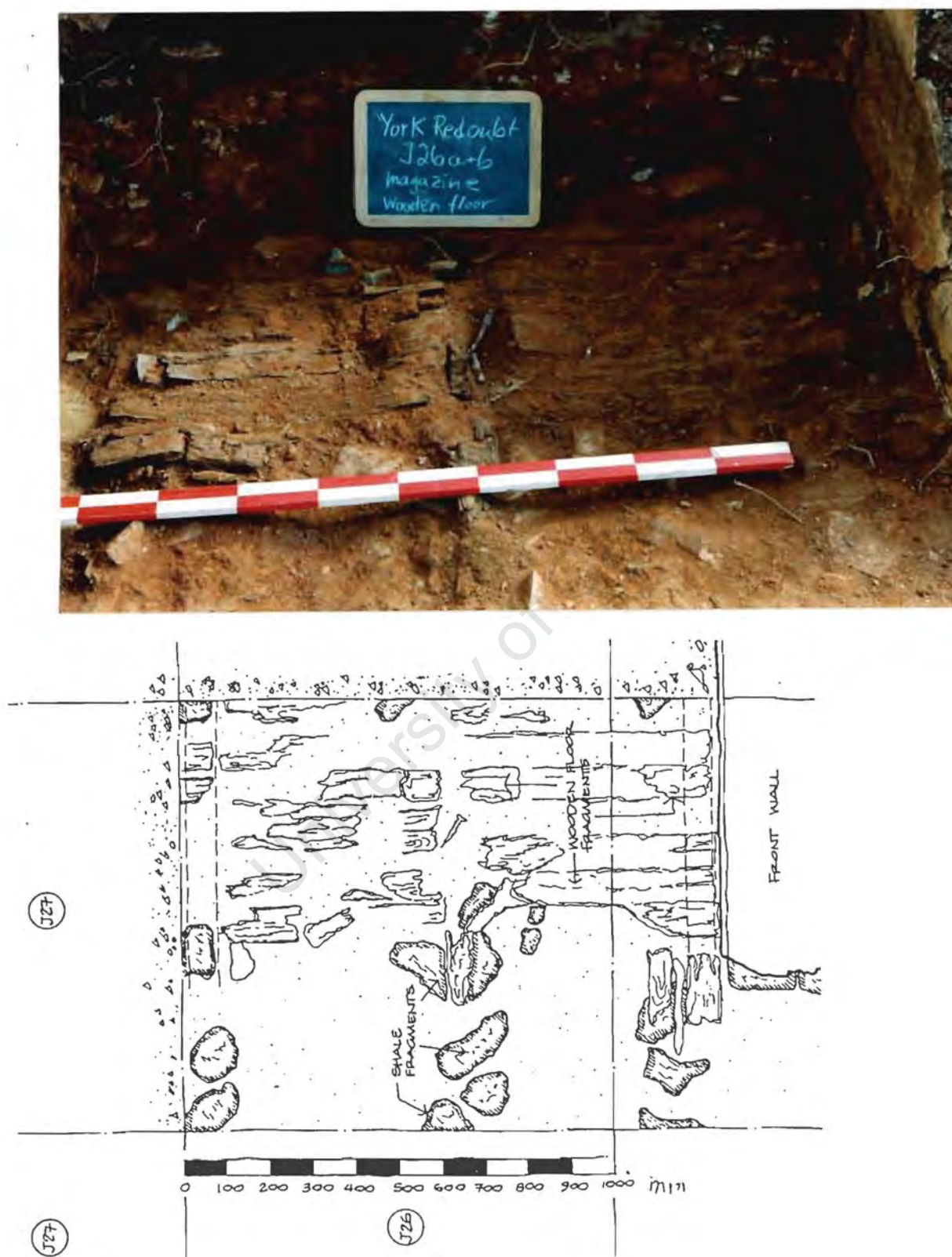


Fig. 10. The wooden floor in the magazine. 1996.

The edge of the upper terrace was composed of a retaining wall, which formed the rear wall of the magazine below. A staircase, detailed in Fig. 11, led from the magazine area to the upper terrace.

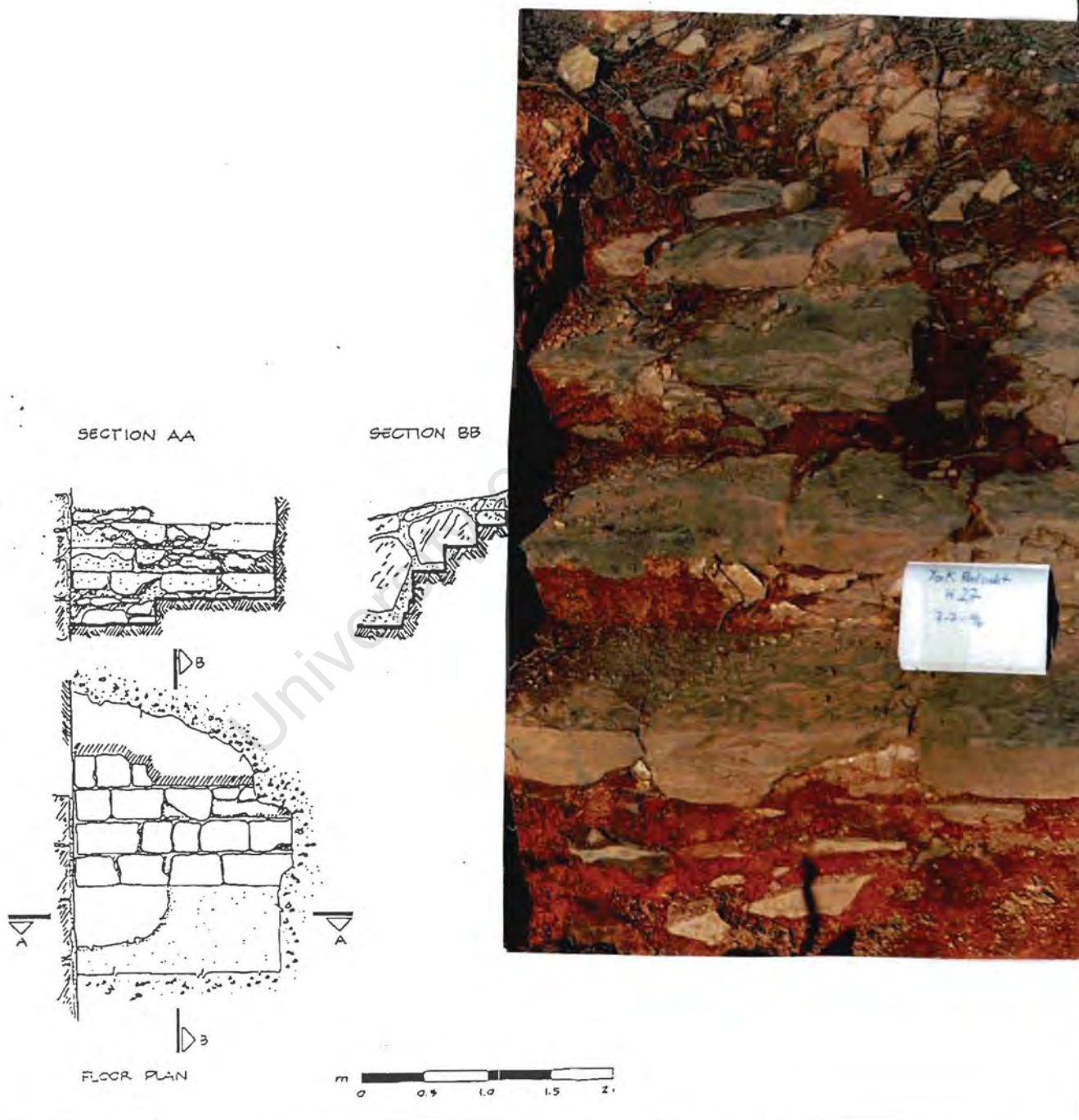


Fig. 11. Staircase to the upper terrace of York Redoubt, 1996.

The guardhouse on the upper terrace was situated slightly off centre to the left of the magazine. The walls of this guardhouse, including the fireplace, had been plastered on the inside. The floor was paved with smooth stone slabs. Around the house the ground had been cobbled to provide a solid, even surface. Heavy rains on this side of the mountain and the slippery clay soil would have made this cobbling obligatory. A low wall abutted the outside of the guardhouse where the fireplace was situated. This confirmed the accuracy of the military drawing of 1815. It appears that the space behind the guardhouse, about six metres across to the back rampart, was bulldozed at some time in the past and the rubble piled up along the edge of the upper terrace after the guardhouse was dismantled<sup>27</sup>. The area had at one time been used as storage for artificial crushed shale gravel for roadbuilding. Part of this gravel had been pushed over the edge into the cavity between the magazine and the retaining wall with the staircase. This must have happened after the middle of the nineteenth century, as the artefacts deposited on the pavement under the gravel date from this time onward.

The workmanship of the buildings, retaining walls and staircases was of a high standard, with constant attention to detail. What was left after the buildings were partially dismantled is still in excellent condition. We were unable to locate the original dumping area for this redoubt. Military campsite commanders, then and now, established their refuse dump not nearer than twenty metres or further than fifty metres from the living/ cooking area to ensure hygienic living conditions for the troops<sup>28</sup>.

Having established the architectural features of the site, we turned our attention to the excavation of portable artefactual material. The data recovered from these artefacts will inform the discussion around the influence a full-scale military occupation had in promoting a new social order, the 'British way of life'.

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<sup>27</sup> Mr Hendrik Louw, forester, Devil's Peak station, told us that the enlarged area was there more than twenty years ago.

<sup>28</sup> This was confirmed to the author by several members of the South African, British and German armed forces.



### 4.3 THE CULTURAL MATERIAL FROM YORK REDOUBT

After the baseline was established, a grid was placed over the cleared area of the middle and upper terrace and the excavation conducted. A profile through the excavated area is shown in Figure 12. A detailed section drawing through the magazine's most prolific areas, squares J25 to J27, red brick layer and black layer is shown in Figure 13. The black layer was half filled with dressed stone, measuring ca 500 x 800 x 300 mm, possibly part of the collapsed back wall of the magazine. This layer also contained large cast iron metal parts of the building structure. The red brick layer contained crushed orange, low fired bricks and shale fragments, which could be interpreted as roofing material for a flat roof<sup>29</sup>. These two layers contained about 80% of the artefacts recovered. The stone and metal building material was documented and used for re-fill of the magazine area after completion of the excavation.

The portable artefacts were sorted according to artefact categories. During cross-mending glass and ceramic vessels it became apparent that individual fragments were excavated from different squares and layers. The 'found' stratigraphy could therefore not be used for dating purposes. It was suggested that all or part of the rubbish heap from York Redoubt had been dumped over the edge of the upper terrace after the redoubt was abandoned to make way for an enlarged flat area. Weathering and erosion had also taken its toll, spreading part of the assemblage further downslope. It was therefore decided to combine the artefactual material and analyse it as a single deposition layer.

The cultural material was sorted into classes according to the material it was made of: ceramic, glass, metal etc. Furthermore, artefact use and function was taken into account when grouping artefacts: building material, uniforms and other personal items, gunflints, cartridges and so forth.

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<sup>29</sup> De Puyfontaine, op cit. The engineer LM Thibault 'invented' a roofing material for flat roofs, a mixture of straw, crushed bricks and a tar like substance, amalgamasse. This could, however,

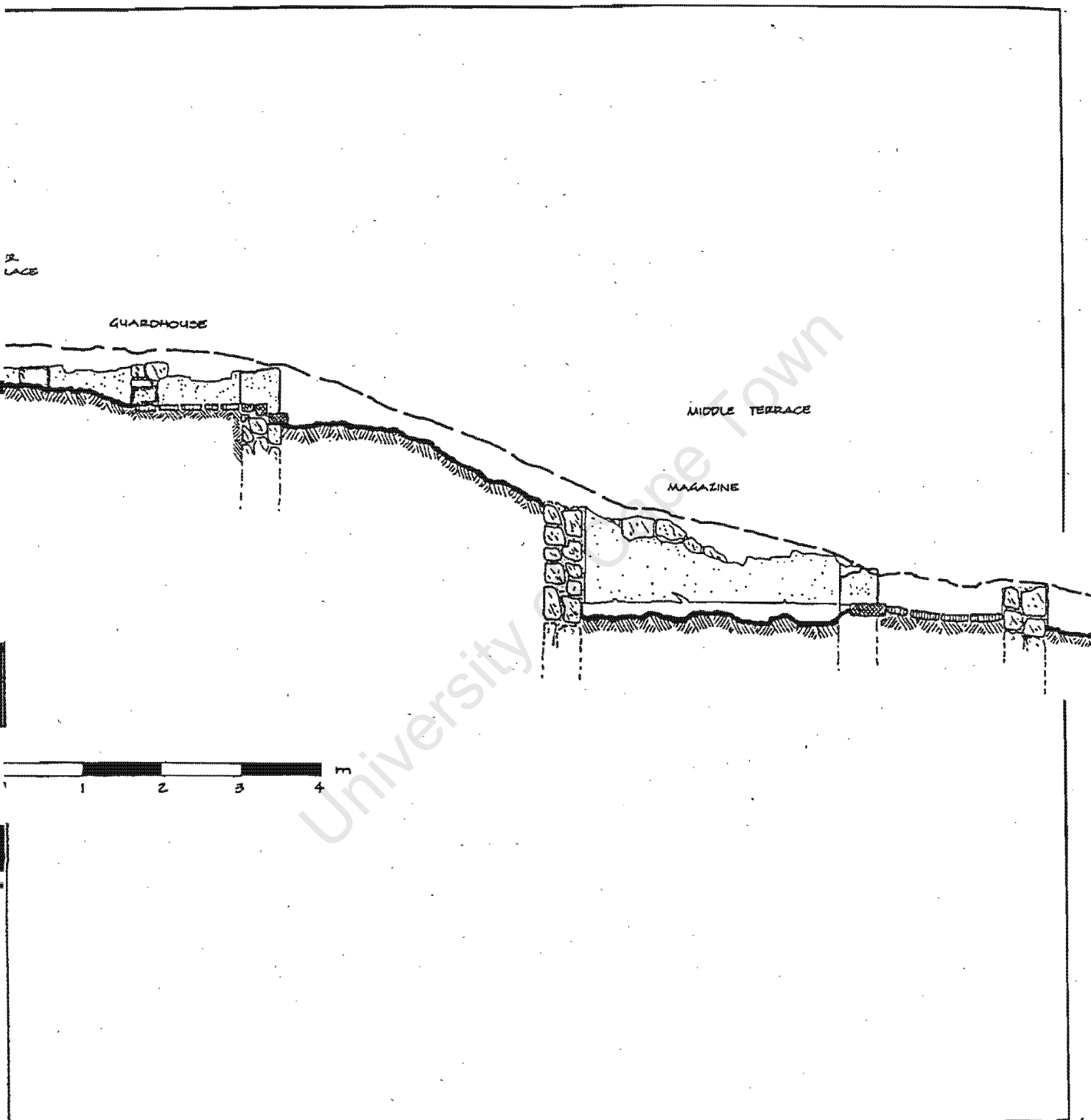


Fig. 12. Section drawing through the excavated areas of York Redoubt. 1996.

not be used, as it was not waterproof. The magazine's contents had to be kept dry.

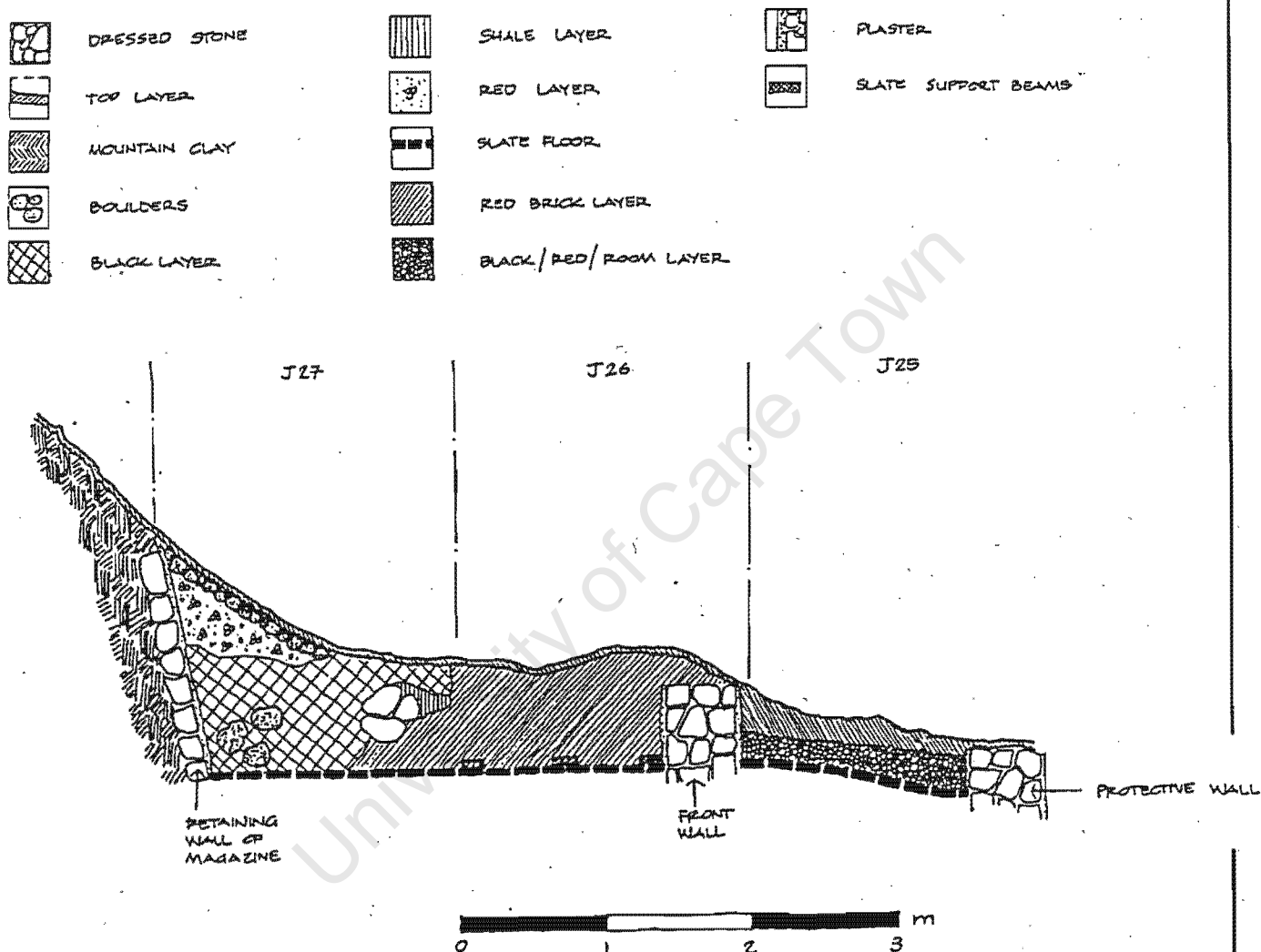


Fig. 13. Details of squares and layers in the magazine. 1996.

### 4.3.1 THE CERAMIC ASSEMBLAGE

One of the most enduring classes of artefacts to survive in the archaeological record is ceramics. The York Redoubt assemblage is no exception. York Redoubt was built to serve as a British military post and was supplied by the British ordnance department. Besides the four to six soldiers permanently stationed there for much of the first twenty years, regular visitors, such as officers on duty rounds, other rank and file on the way to the blockhouses and friends visiting would have partaken in the food consumed on site<sup>30</sup>. This would have also added to the artefact assemblage.

#### 4.3.1.1 Methodology

The standardised method of ceramic analysis used in this chapter was developed by Klose (1997) during her work on several assemblages spanning the last two hundred and fifty years<sup>31</sup>. Klose's Cape Classificatory System (CCS) has been used since the early 1990s to classify, quantify, describe and compare excavated local ceramic assemblages. The CCS standardised table of ware types with subheadings as to decoration, and the CCS standardised form and function table, were used for the York Redoubt ceramics to facilitate comparison with other colonial sites in South Africa and abroad. Also included in the tables which follow were Minimum Number of Vessels (MNV) and fragments counts, the latter, when appropriate, divided into rim, footring and body fragments.

#### 4.3.1.2 Ware type profiles

Initially the fragments were divided into five different basic ceramic categories: porcelain, stoneware, coarse earthenware, tin glazed ware and refined wares. Included were the weight, total fragment count and minimum number of vessels. Table 1 gives an overview according to basic ware types:

<sup>30</sup> The section on the fauna material elaborates on this point.

<sup>31</sup> Klose, J. 1997. *Analysis of Ceramic Assemblages from four Cape Historical Sites Dating from the late Seventeenth Century to the Mid-nineteenth Century*. University of Cape Town: Unpublished MA thesis, p. 2.

Ware type	weight/kg	No of fragments	MNV	% MNV
1. Porcelain	0.440	53	13	11.9%
2. Stone ware	1.220	102	18	16.6%
3. Coarse earthenware	0.340	21	3	2.7%
4. Tin glazed ware	-			-
5. Refined wares	7.316	2040	75	68.8%
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>9.316</b>	<b>2216</b>	<b>109</b>	<b>100%</b>

Table 1. Basic body ware types, weight and minimum number of vessels (MNV). Ceramic collection, York Redoubt, 1996.

#### 4.3.1.3 Individual ware type analysis

The initial analysis of the York Redoubt ceramic assemblage was based on the dating of the site from documentary evidence. The assemblage was divided into three categories. The bulk of the collection can be dated to the period of occupation, ca 1795 to 1830 with some earlier and some later dated vessels overlapping. Earlier vessels would have been brought onto the site and continued to be used until they broke. Vessels which were manufactured after 1830 would have been discarded by visitors and picnickers to the ruins, as well as soldiers on manoeuvre and labourers working on the mountain site during the late nineteenth century, when an afforestation program took place on the mountain.

The MNV was determined by cross-mending individual vessels (which was possible with at least half the vessels counted) and / or counting selective features, such as pouring lips, spouts, handles etc. Shard counts were not necessarily seen as indicators of vessel numbers, as their fragmentation differed considerably from less than 5 mm to over 200 mm across their widest point. None of the vessels was found complete.

**CCS No: 1. PORCELAIN****CCS No: 1.1 ASIAN: Far & Middle East****MNV = 7 (6,4%)**

The Asian market ware found at York Redoubt consists of a teacup or small bowl fragment, two medium sized bowls, a ginger jar lid, and three enamelled teaware items, a saucer, one tea- or coffee pot spout and one tea- or coffee pot lid. It is a typical late eighteenth to early nineteenth century Cape assemblage.

**CCS No: 1.1.1 Far East: Chinese export ware****CCS No: 1.1.1.1 underglaze-blue Chinese export ware**

1 base fragment of a teacup or small bowl, dated to the 18<sup>th</sup> - 19<sup>th</sup> century, Reference: Klose, 1997. op cit. part II, p J1.



Fig. 14. Chinese export ware - teacup or small bowl.

**CCS No: 1.1.1.32 Chinese export ware, coarse/refined, other**

Medium sized bowl with everted rim, ca 110mm diameter at rim, blue/green/charcoal underglaze painting, 2 rim and 1 body fragments.

Reference: Woodward, 1974. op cit. p 46, No 72.<sup>32</sup>

dated to post 1781, Reference: Klose, 1997, part II, op cit. p J4, fragment MB1a.

<sup>32</sup> Woodward, CS. 1974. *Oriental Ceramics at the Cape of Good Hope 1652-1795*. Cape Town: AA Balkema.



### CCS No: 1.1.2 Far East: Asian market ware, coarse

CCS No: 1.1.2.1 Asian market ware, underglaze blue, coarse,

Medium sized bowl, 160 mm diameter, with everted rim, and biscuit ring, partially glazed footring,  
6 rim, 1 base/footring, 8 body fragments,  
Dated to after 1781, decoration similar to a tea bowl from the wreck of the *Middelburg*, sunk off Cape waters in 1781,  
Reference: Woodward. 1974. op cit. p 46, No 72.  
Reference for bowl shape: Klose, 1997, part II, op cit. p Ji, No A2.



Fig. 15. Asian market ware, underglaze-blue, medium sized bowl. Late eighteenth century.

Ginger jar lid, underglaze blue  
Unglazed edge of rim  
6 body fragments  
Reference: Woodward. CS. 1974. p 50.  
"Jars of this pattern were manufactured until 1853 or later (Jane Klose, pers. comm. after inspection of the lid)



Fig. 16. Ginger jar lid, Asian market ware, 19<sup>th</sup> century

## CCS No: 1.1.2.2 Asian market ware, enamelled

Saucer, blue-grey glaze, overglaze hand painted: orange, pink and white dainty flower motif with black fine lines, 4 rim and 2 base/footring fragments, dated to the late 18<sup>th</sup> - early 19<sup>th</sup> century, Reference, decoration and dating: Klose, 1997, part II, op cit. p 39, CPO/75.



Flat coffee or teapot lid with moulded relief, glaze similar to spout and saucer, overglaze handpainted enamelled with black paint residues, unglazed rim edge, 4 body fragments, Reference: Woodward. 1974. op cit. p 122 Fig. 144F.

Fig. 17. Asian market ware, enamelled, saucer, lid and spout. Late 18<sup>th</sup> / early 19<sup>th</sup> century

## CCS No: 1.1.2.4 Asian market ware, undecorated

one complete spout for a tea or coffee pot, undecorated, glaze identical to saucer and flat coffee or teapot lid, probably dates to the late 18<sup>th</sup> / early 19<sup>th</sup> century, Reference: Woodward. 1974. op cit, p 122, Fig. 144F. See Fig. 17 above, right.

## CCS No: 1.2. European porcelain

## CCS No: 1.2.1 and 1.2.2 Continental &amp; British ware MNV = 6 (5,5%)

This Continental and British porcelain category includes all types of hard-paste (e.g. vitreous china, known as 'Ironstone'), soft paste and bone china. Tableware made from hard- and soft-paste china was very popular during the second half of the nineteenth century. The thick walled tableware items were possibly meant for heavy use. Gold band and enamelled overglaze decoration was fashionable during the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.



## CCS No: 1.2.2.3 gold &amp; white decoration

Saucer or side plate, ca 100 mm diameter, white body, clear glaze,  
2 body 2 rim fragments,  
popular post 1855,  
Reference for British ware: Klose, 1997, part II, op cit, p. F2.

## CCS No: 1.2.3.2 enamelled / painted ware

Soup bowl or serving dish, approximately 200 mm in diameter,  
white bodied, thick walled porcelain with a clear glaze, enamelled on the inner  
rim edge with a wave and dot pattern,  
2 body/rim/base fragments,  
dated to the late 19<sup>th</sup> century (Jane Klose, 2001, pers.comm.).

Mug fragment, thick-walled, fluted porcelain,  
white-bodied, clear glaze, enamelled on inner surface with an ornate scrolled  
flower pattern,  
1 rim, 1 body fragment,  
similar to British Navy cup in the Simon's Town Museum, dated to ca 1920.

## CCS No: 1.2.3.4 undecorated / undiagnostic

Side plate or dinner plate, white body, clear glaze,  
6 body, 1 rim fragment, which includes a footring,  
undated.

Half a swing stopper for a beer or ginger beer bottle, white body, clear glaze,  
could also be vitrified white ware known as Ironstone. Ironstone was the  
dominant type of ware from the 1850s to the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century<sup>33</sup>.  
Reference: Woodward. 1974. op cit, p 29 and p 41. Woodward dates them from  
1881 to the early 20<sup>th</sup> century.

One fragment of a figurine, painted on the outside, but not glazed.  
Parian porcelain, developed after 1844.  
Reference: Woodward. 1974. op cit, p 77.

<sup>33</sup> Miller, George L. 1991. A Revised Set of CC Index Values for Classification and Economic

**CCS No: 2. STONEWARE****MNV = 18 (16.6%)****CCS No: 2.2.2. British stoneware**

A minimum of five brown salt-glazed ginger beer / beer bottles was found, of which two had markings impressed on the body. If the ginger beer / beer manufacturers were Cape Town based, these bottles would date to after 1820<sup>34</sup>. Nine beer bottle stoppers manufactured from unglazed clay were also present. Two unprovenanced stoneware bottles, three ink bottles, one food storage vessel and one ointment jar complete the collection. They are all dated to after the 1820s, i.e. at the end of the occupation of York Redoubt and beyond.

**CCS No: 2.2.2.3 brown salt-glazed ware**

Beer or ginger beer bottle with a blob top, unglazed inside,  
Marked below shoulder: "WC 3 CASTLE ST"

The manufacturer's name or initials were impressed with a rubber stamp. Ginger beer brewing started in Cape Town in 1840. Designs of these types of ginger beer bottles date back to the 1840s. Blob top ginger beer bottles were sealed with corks.

3 rim/neck, 18 body, 3 base fragments.

Reference: Lastovica *et al*, 1982, op cit. pp 29-31.

Lastovica, *et al*, op cit. p 98, list beer and ginger beer manufacturers in Cape Town: e.g. Wiskin & Co Cape Town, for 1831.

(see Fig. 18, p 60)

Beer or ginger beer bottle, brown salt-glazed, unglazed inside with rifling,  
consisting of 2 base, 1 body fragment. Dated to after 1830.

Beer or ginger beer bottle, brown salt-glazed, unglazed inside, consisting of 1  
body fragment. Dated to after 1830.

Beer or ginger beer bottle, brown salt-glazed, unglazed inside, consisting of 2  
body fragments. Dated to after 1830.

Scaling of English Ceramics from 1787 to 1880. *Historical Archaeology*, Vol 25(1), 1991, p 10.

<sup>34</sup> Lastovica, E & A. 1982. *Bottles and Bygones: a Guide for South African Collectors*. Cape Town: Don Nelson, pp 83-84.

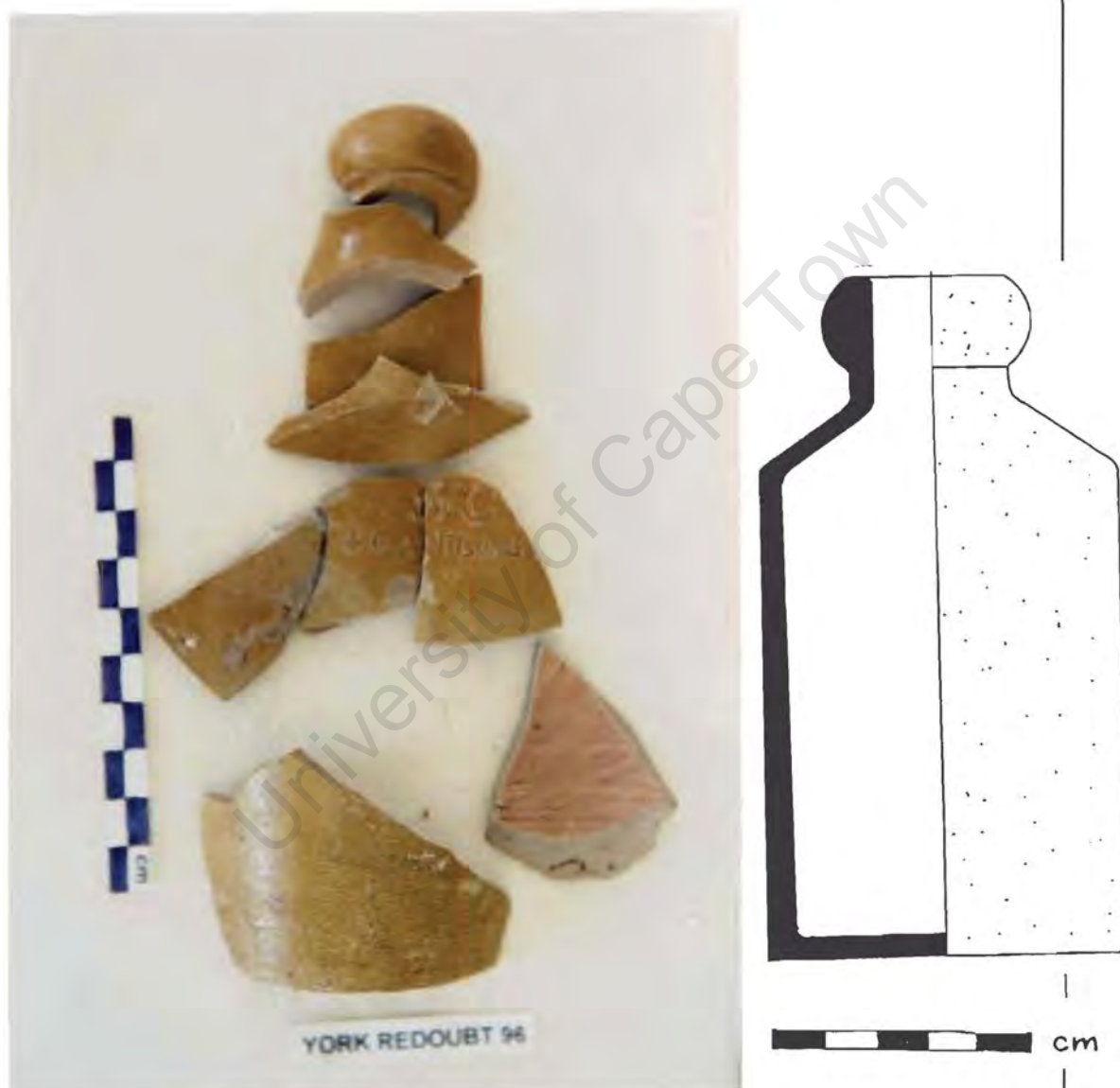


Fig. 18. Profile and photograph of beer / ginger beer bottle, marked "WC 3 CASTLE ST", from York Redoubt, 1996. British stoneware, brown salt-glazed, dated to after 1830 (Lastovica et al, op cit. p 98).

Beer or ginger beer bottle, brown salt-glazed, unglazed inside.  
2 body fragments.

Reference: Lastovica *et al*, 1982, op cit. p 30.

Marked near the base: ?ckin? TLE , (probably bottle or castle).

Beer and ginger beer manufacturers in South Africa: Cape Brewers (John Mackintosh & Co) of Newlands, brewed ca 1820-1830. This was the only brewer with ?ckin? listed.

Reference: Lastovica *et al*, 1982, op cit. p 97.

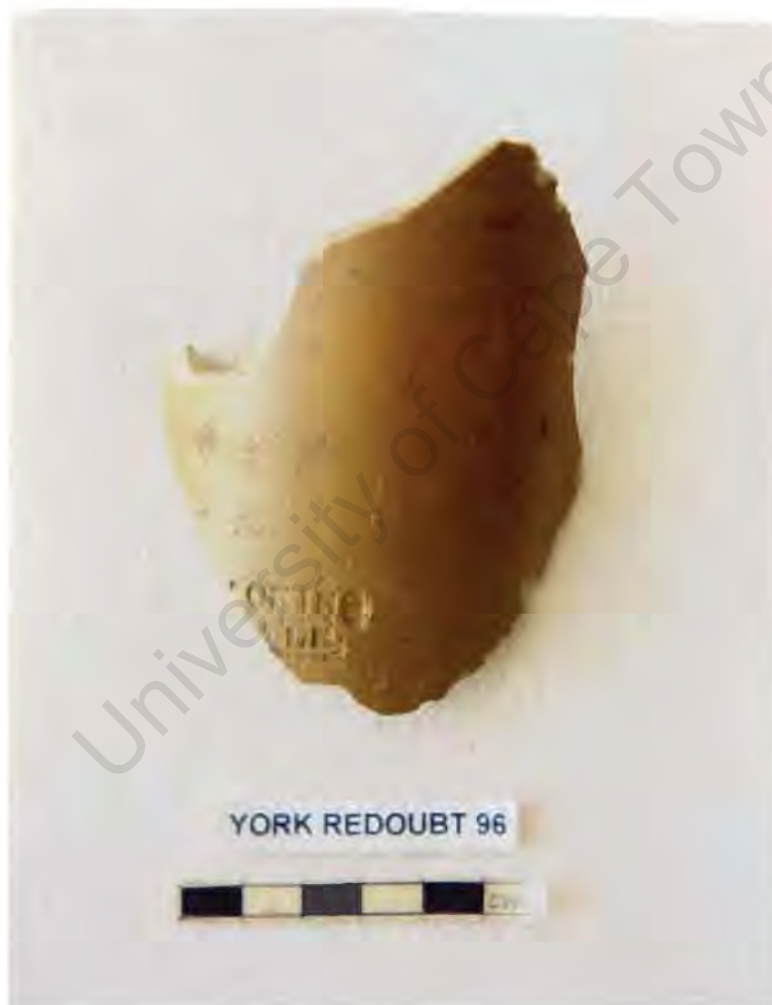


Fig. 19. Beer / ginger beer bottle, British stoneware, salt-glazed. Note the stamp: ?ckin? TLE, probably the beverage manufacturer's name. Dated to after 1830.



## CCS No: 2.2.2.4 Commercial – salt &amp; liquid glazed

Storage jar, straight necked, probably for 'Bulk' ink. Brown salt-glazed with a colourless liquid glaze on outer surface, rifling on the inside.

Reference: Lastovica *et al*, 1982, op cit. p 56.

7 body, 2 base, 3 neck fragments.

Dated to post 1860 (Reference: Klose, 1997, part II, op cit. p F3)

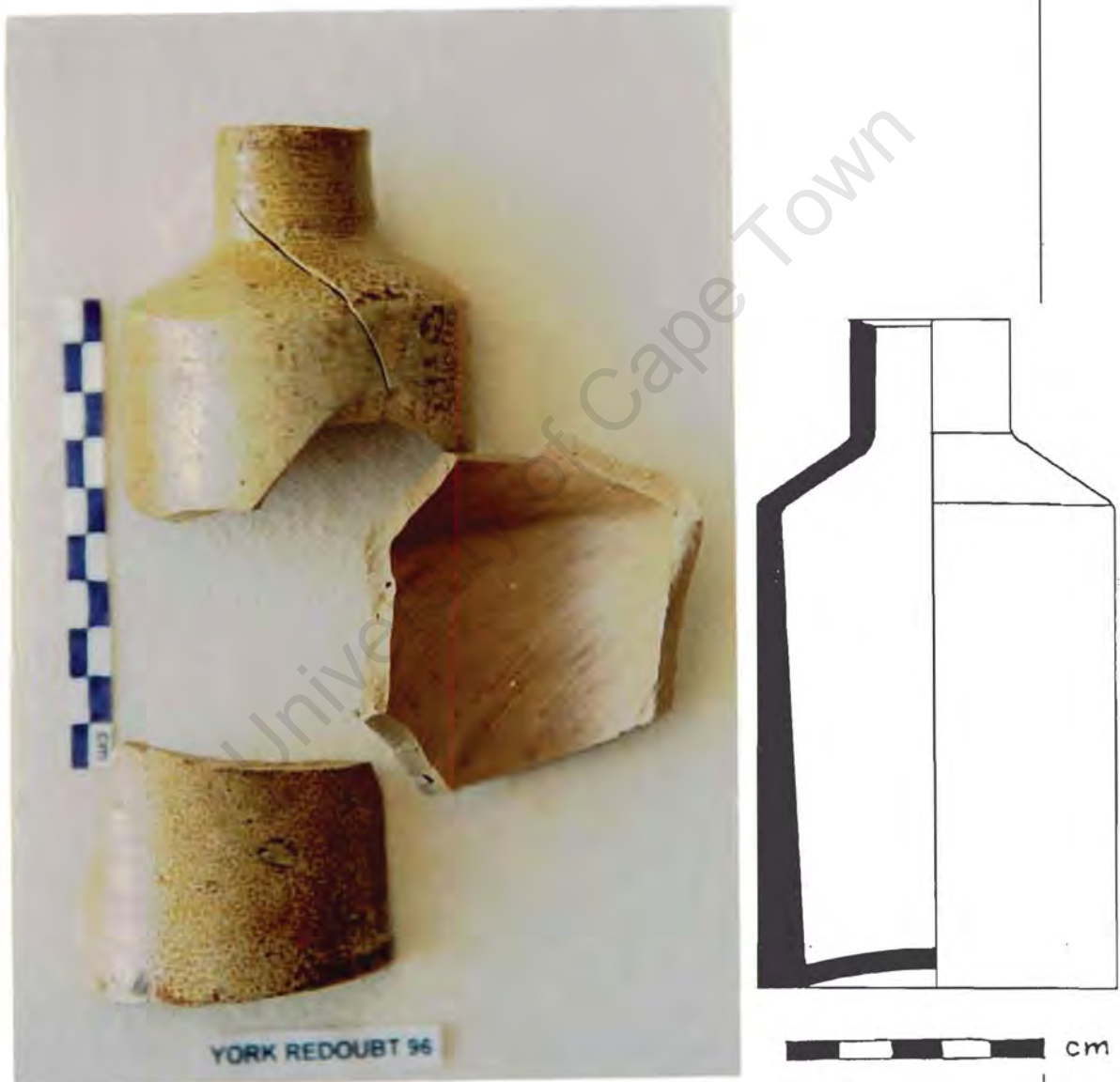


Fig. 20. Storage jar, probably for 'bulk ink', British stoneware, salt-glazed, dated to post-1860.

3 Ink bottles:

- one ink bottle, brown salt-glazed, unglazed inside, marked 'D'.

1 body and 1 neck fragment.

- ink bottle, brown salt-glazed. 1 base fragment.

- ink bottle, brown salt-glazed. 1 body fragment.

All three ink bottles dated to after 1823, Lastovica, op cit. p 53 referred to them as 'dwarf ink'.

References: Lastovica *et al*, 1982, op cit. p 56, and

Klose, 1997, op cit. part I, p 68; and part II, p L.56, Barrack Street Level 3, EST/1.



Fig. 21. Top and bottom left: three ink bottle fragments, British stoneware, salt-glazed. Bottom middle and right: food container fragments. All date to after 1840.

British commercial stoneware pot, clear glaze both inside and outside on a light mustard-coloured body.

This 'pot was used by pharmacists for dispensing ointments'. It has a groove around the rim, where string would have been tied to keep a paper cover in place. (Reference: Lastovica *et al*, 1982, op cit. p 50).

1 body/rim fragment

Dated to after 1830 (Lastovica *et al*, 1982, op cit. p 49).

Reference: Klose, 1997 part II, op cit. p L.56



Fig. 22. Pharmaceutical container, probably ointment jar. Found at York Redoubt, 1996.

Commercial / industrial bottle / storage vessel, outside and inside clear liquid glaze on a greyish body, rifling on the inside. Dated to post 1823.

4 body fragments.

Reference: Klose, 1997, part II, op cit. p F3.



Fig. 23. Commercial storage vessel, British stoneware, dated to post-1823.



Mineral water bottle, stoneware, buff coloured body, probably European. Salt-glazed on the outside, inside unglazed, rifled.

17 body fragments.

Undated.

Reference: Klose, 1997, part II, op cit. p H.4. Fig. H-4.



Fig. 24. Mineral water bottle, probably European, undated.

CCS No. 2.2.2.9 other British / Continental stoneware, undiagnostic

Mineral water or 'gin' bottle, stoneware, probably handled, buff body, salt-glazed. Dated to the 18<sup>th</sup> to 20<sup>th</sup> century<sup>35</sup>.

1 blob/neck fragment.

Reference: Klose, 1997, part II, op cit, p D.6.

One round neck fragment,

MNV = 2

One squarish neck fragment,

One handle fragment, all belonging probably to a bottle, orange coloured body, brown / yellow mottled glaze,

Undated.

9 Beer or ginger beer bottle stoppers, unglazed clay, low-fired.

<sup>35</sup> Such "Schnapps" bottles were on the market in 1965 in Germany.



Storage vessel, low-fired stoneware or high-fired earthenware, buff / orange coloured body, dark brown glaze inside and outside. Rolled rim to fasten the paper or cloth covering with a string, carinated shoulder.  
5 rim, 3 shoulder, 7 body fragments of less than 40 mm diameter.  
Undated.



Fig. 25. Storage vessel, stoneware, undated. York Redoubt, 1996.

One Martevan-type storage vessel, borderline low-fired stoneware or high-fired earthenware, everted rim, brown manganese-type glaze inside and outside.  
Body sherd thickness 8 - 10 mm.  
1 rim, 1 body fragment (fitted).

Reference: Abrahams, 1994, op cit. p 9. Woodward. 1974. op cit. p 77 and p 145, Fig. 167/17, Reference: Klose, 1997, part II, op cit p D.9. These fragments are similar to the Barrack Street well, level 4 fragment CEW/1 (Klose, 1997, part II, op cit.). Undated, probably 18<sup>th</sup> century.

Note: a Martevan-type vessel would originate in far east Asia.



Fig. 26. Storage vessel, Martevan-type stoneware.

**CCS No. 3. COARSE EARTHENWARE****MNV = 3 (2.7%)**

According to Abrahams (1994), "the differentiation between locally produced earthenware and imported wares is still problematic"<sup>35</sup>. On balance, Abrahams (pers. comm.) grouped the yellow glazed fragments of two individual pots with European imports in the collection of the South African Cultural History Museum. Stacy Jordan, in her recent work on coarse earthenware assemblages of the VOC period, stated that, apart from visual evidence of style, decoration and fabric, evidence for local manufacture can be gained from mineralogical characterizations provided by thin-section petrography<sup>36</sup>. Since the fragments of pottery (or photographs thereof) she analysed and classified were not accessible for comparative purposes, the coarse earthenware found at York Redoubt could not be classified with any degree of certainty as to local manufacture or European import. A petrographic analysis of the suspected artefacts did not fall within the scope of this thesis.

**CCS No. 3.1.3 European & Cape manufactured coarse earthenware****CCS No. 3.1.3.1 red body**

Flat based storage vessel, thickly potted 2-tone clay, brownish glaze, straight sides, ca 120 mm diameter at base, height unknown, neck 60 mm diameter, with a flat rim, probably meant to be stoppered with a cork.

1 base/body, 1 body, 2 rim fragments, European style, probably Cape manufactured, dated to the VOC period.



Fig. 27. Flat-based storage vessel, profile of the neck, straight sides, probably earthenware, European style, dated to the VOC period.

<sup>35</sup> Abrahams, Gabeba. 1994. Coarse Earthenwares of the VOC Period: 18th and 19th century pottery excavated from the Grand Parade at the Cape. *Annals of the South African Cultural History Museum*, Vol 6, No 1, p 16.

<sup>36</sup> Jordan, SC. 2000. *The 'Utility' of Coarse Earthenware: Potters, Pottery Production and Identity at the Dutch Colonial Cape of Good Hope, South Africa (1652-1795)*. Rutgers



One medium-sized cooking pot, approximately 120 mm diameter at the rim, coarse earthenware, yellow/green glaze covering the inside of the vessel and continues over the outer, rolled rim.

2 rim, 9 body fragments.

Probably Cape manufactured.

Dated to the 17<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> century. Reference: Abrahams, 1994, op cit. p 19, Fig. 7a. And: Klose, 1997, op cit, Sea Street, JAM6/CEW 7

One flat bottomed cooking pot, coarse earthenware, yellow/green glaze covering the inside, rolled footring, the concave base is ca 180 mm in diameter, 4 body, 1 base fragment,

Probably Cape manufactured, dated to the 17<sup>th</sup> or 18<sup>th</sup> century.

Reference: Klose, 1997, Sea Street, JAM6/CEW 7. And: Abrahams, 1994, op cit, p 32 Fig 17b.

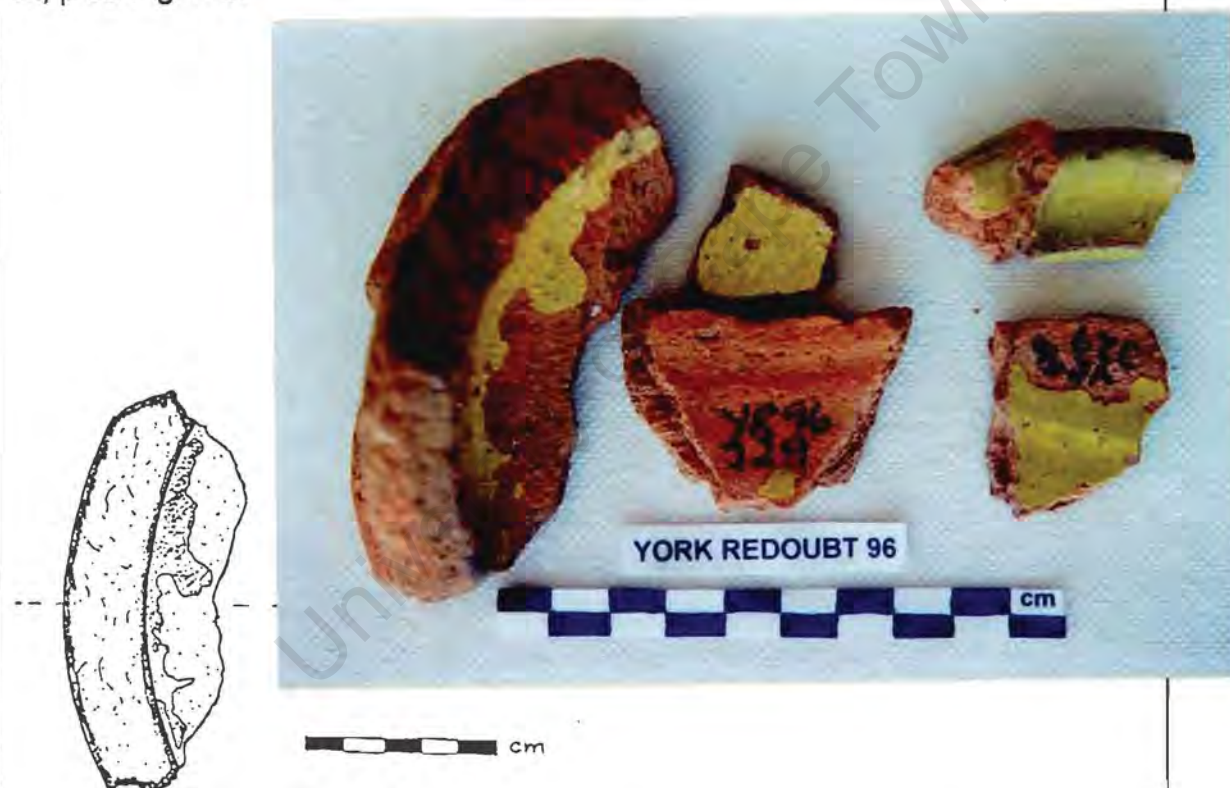


Fig. 28. Two European-style, probably Cape manufactured coarse earthenware cooking pots. Profile of the base. Yellow / green glaze on the inside. Dated to the VOC period, 17<sup>th</sup> - 18<sup>th</sup> century. York Redoubt, 1996.

## CCS No. 5. REFINED WARES

### CCS No. 5.1 EUROPEAN REFINED WARES

Amongst the many types of pottery made in Staffordshire in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries three main body types were developed for mass production and proved immensely popular throughout Britain and its colonies: creamware, pearlware and white-bodied wares. Creamware (CCS No 5.1.1), a cream coloured body and clear glaze as defined by Klose (1997) and others<sup>38</sup>, was developed from the 1740s and fashionable until the 1840s. Pearlware, (CCS number 5.1.2), developed from 1775 onwards with a whiter body and a bluish glaze, became affordable around the 1790s and by 1800 began to replace creamware as the preferred table ware<sup>39</sup>. Industrial white wares (CCS number 5.1.3), as the name implies, appeared on the market from 1805 onwards. This category comprises non-, semi- & vitreous white-bodied wares with clear and coloured glazes. Refined, coloured-bodied wares (CCS number 5.1.4) and refined industrial stoneware (CCS number 5.1.5) had been developed by the 1850s<sup>40</sup>. White-bodied wares, superseding cream- and pearlware, became the dominant ware type throughout the nineteenth century. As with creamware and pearlware it can be dated by decoration and trade marks.

#### CCS No. 5.1.1 Refined white-bodied: cream coloured ware

**TOTAL MNV = 26 (23.8%)**

This large group of ceramics was manufactured in Staffordshire from the middle of the 18<sup>th</sup> century onwards and is still popular. Josiah Wedgwood marketed it first, making it desirable and fashionable. Cream coloured ware was most commonly used between 1780 and 1810. This ceramic ware type displaced much of the Asian porcelain at the Cape<sup>41</sup>.

<sup>38</sup> Miller, 1991, op cit.

<sup>39</sup> Klose, 1997, op cit. p F.5.

<sup>40</sup> Klose, 1997, op cit. pp F.5.-F.6 .for further references.

<sup>41</sup> Klose, J. & Malan A. 1991. *Pots in the Past*, Archaeological ceramic workshop notes. University of Cape Town: Department of Archaeology, Historical Archaeology Research Group, p 13.

## CCS No. 5.1.1.1 undecorated, plain, flat rim

Wash basin or large bowl, bowl at rim 320 mm diameter and at the footring 160 mm diameter. Height of the footring 25 mm, height of bowl 145 mm.

37 body, 18 rim and 4 footring/base fragments.

Reference: Klose, 1997, part II, op cit. p F.4. This depicts a pale and almost colourless ware similar to that found at York Redoubt. Dated to the late 18<sup>th</sup> / early 19<sup>th</sup> century. Miller (1980) writes, that "Undecorated vessels after the 1820s tend to be chamber pots, plates, bowls and forms related to kitchen use"<sup>42</sup>.

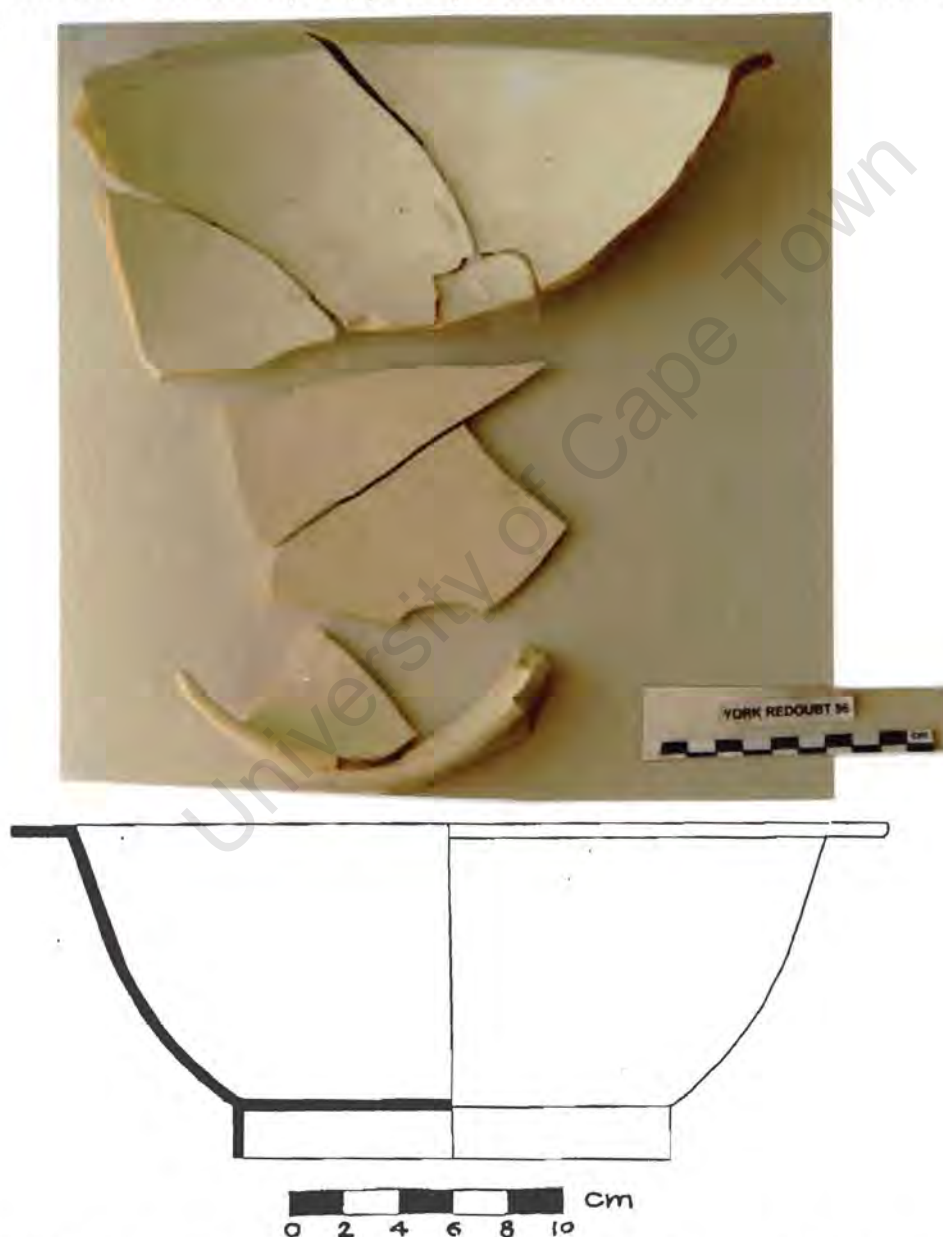


Fig. 29. Wash basin or large bowl, profile, ca 320 mm diameter at the rim. British refined ware, cream coloured.

<sup>42</sup> Miller, George L. 1980. Classification and Economic Scaling of 19<sup>th</sup> Century Ceramics. *Historical Archaeology*, Vol 14, 1980, p 3.



5 medium sized bowls, based on cross-mending and footring appearance. Pale cream colour body and glaze, identical to the wash basin or large bowl above. The bowls are about 140 mm in diameter at the rim, 80 mm at the footring, total height is ca 80 mm.

8 body, 20 rim and 20 fragments.

Dated from late 18<sup>th</sup> to early 19<sup>th</sup> century.

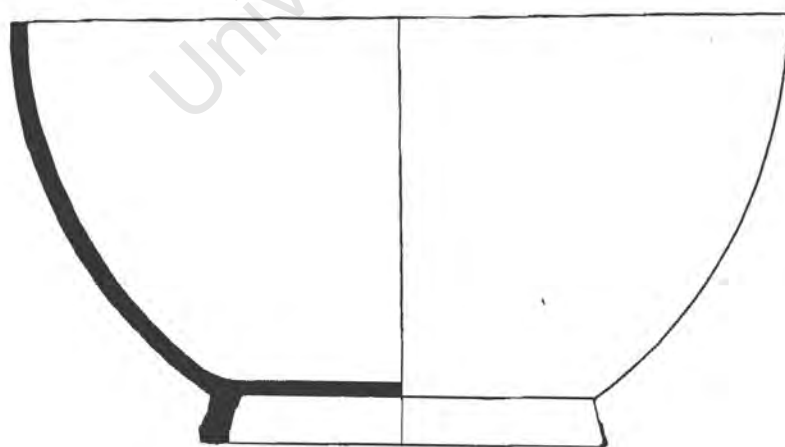


Fig. 30. British refined stoneware, cream-coloured medium sized bowl. Late 18<sup>th</sup> to early 19<sup>th</sup> century. York Redoubt, 1996.

Jug / coffee / tea pot. There are 4 vessels, based on the lid form. The thickness of the body of the lids vary. The footings of the four lids have a diameter of 40 mm. 15 lid fragments were identified and one knob of a lid was present. In addition, 7 handle fragments were present. No body fragments could be assigned with certainty as those of a jug or tea / coffee pot. Dated to the late 18<sup>th</sup> / early 19<sup>th</sup> century.



Fig. 31. British refined stoneware, cream-coloured tea pot / jug lid.



Fig. 32. British refined stoneware, cream-coloured, rim patterns. Above: Royal rim pattern, middle: concave rim, bottom: flat rim. Late 18<sup>th</sup> century.

2 undecorated, plain flat rim soup or dinner plates, cross-mended, 260 mm in diameter.  
62 rim fragments, Late 18<sup>th</sup> century.

2 undecorated, plain soup plates, cross-mended, concave base, no footing, no rim fragments. 23 body fragments.  
Late 18<sup>th</sup> century.

2 soup plates, slightly concave rim, 260 mm diameter, with a footing and a flat base, cross-mended.  
60 rim, 3 footing and 2 body fragments. Late 18<sup>th</sup> century.  
Reference: Klose, 1997, op cit. p 58, and Sea Street JAM6-3/REW/1.  
See also: Sussman, 1978. op cit. p 98 Fig. 9.

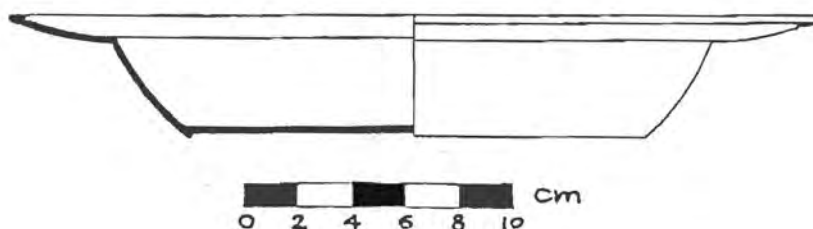


Fig. 33. British refined stoneware, cream-coloured plates. Soup plate with concave rim. Dated to late 18<sup>th</sup> / early 19<sup>th</sup> century.



CCS No. 5.1.1.2 undecorated cream-coloured ware, Queen / Royal rim,

1 dinner plate, cross-mended, flat base, edge (not a footring) at the base. 5 rim, 2 body and 1 base fragment. (See Fig. 32 above, top rim).

Reference: Klose, 1997, op cit. p 58, Sea Street JAM6-3/REW/3 and the photograph of the profile next to item REW/3.

Reference: Sussman, 1978, op cit. p 98, Fig. 8.

CCS No. 5.1.1.9 undiagnostic cream-coloured ware

Undecorated cream-coloured ware, fragmented to about 2 - 30 mm diameter. 28 shoulder fragments and 678 body fragments.

**CCS No 5.1.1.7 Industrial slipware**

**MNV = 7**

Industrial slipware was (and still is) manufactured in Britain as refined earthenware. It attained the height of its popularity in the mid-nineteenth century. According to Miller (1980), in the mid nineteenth century "banded and mocha" industrial slipware was placed in the next-to-lowest price category in the ceramic market<sup>42</sup>. Sussman (1997) maintains, that "only cream coloured ware and pearlware was used for slipware. Cables were the most common decoration between 1780 and 1840, with 'Mocha', 'Banded' and 'Inlaid Slip' decoration next<sup>43</sup>. Mostly hollow vessel forms were produced, such as mugs, cups, jugs, covered dishes and hemispherical bowls. The carinated bowl shape became popular after 1820 in England and its manufacture increased exponentially<sup>44</sup>. "Through time, the bands tended to become wider", Majewski & O'Brian state, "and colours changed from earthen browns, yellows, greens, blues and black to brighter colours, such as bold blues, yellows and white"<sup>45</sup>. The York Redoubt assemblage falls into the early nineteenth century, with the exception of the carinated shaped bowl, which became popular only after 1840<sup>46</sup>.

One body fragment, probably a bowl, light blue and medium brown banded on cream- coloured body. Bands have a slight relief as opposed to being flat. Probably dated to the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. See Fig. 34 top right.

<sup>42</sup> Miller, 1980, pp 3-4.

<sup>43</sup> Sussman, Lynne. 1997. *Mocha, Banded, Cat's Eye and Other Factory-Made Slipware*. Boston University: Council for Northeast Historical Archaeology, Studies in Northeast Historical Archaeology, No 1, pp 65-70.

<sup>44</sup> Sussman, 1997. op cit. p 70.

<sup>45</sup> Majewski, T, & O'Brian, MJ. 1987. 'The Use and Misuse of Nineteenth Century English and American Ceramics in Archaeological Analysis'. In: Schiffer, MB. (Ed.). 1987. *Advances in Archaeological Method and Theory*, Vol 11. San Diego: Academic Press Inc. p 163.

<sup>46</sup> At the Cape carinated bowl forms became popular probably earlier than 1840. (Antonia Malan, pers. comm, July 2001).

One medium sized bowl, 140 mm diameter at rim, hemispherical, medium brown and dark brown bands on cream coloured body. Bands have a slight relief as opposed to being flat.

4 rim, 4 body and 2 footring/base fragments.

Dated to from about 1800, but only common after 1840.

Reference: Klose, 1997. part II, op cit. p F.6.

See Fig. 34 left.

Jug or pitcher, with pouring lip and strainer, yellow and dark brown bands on a cream coloured body. Bands have a slight relief as opposed to being flat.

6 rim, 4 lip, 33 body fragments.

Dated to about 1820 to 1840, according to Sussman, 1997, op cit. p 85.

See Fig. 34 bottom right.

Bowl or mug, 2 rim fragments, chevron pattern on green background, brown rouletted rim decoration on cream coloured body.

Dated to the mid 19<sup>th</sup> century.

Reference: Sussman, 1997, op cit. Title page photograph.

See Fig. 34 right, middle row.



Fig. 34. Industrial slipware, British, early to mid- nineteenth century.. Left: medium brown bowl, with dark brown, slight relief bands. Right middle: Bowl or mug with a chevron pattern on green background, brown rouletted rim decoration. Bottom right: jug or pitcher. All dated to the first half of the nineteenth century. Top middle: Yellow ware, dated from about 1845 to 1880.



One medium sized bowl, ca 140 mm diameter at rim, hemispherical shape, banded and trailed multi-coloured cable design on an ochre background, cream coloured body.

12 rim and 17 body fragments.

'Cable' most common decoration from ca 1780 to 1840<sup>47</sup>.

One medium sized bowl, 'Mocha' decoration on cream coloured body in light and dark brown colours. Footring ca 70 mm diameter, 3 footring and 8 body fragments.

Dated to the first third of the nineteenth century.

References for both bowls: Klose & Malan, 1993. op cit. p 32. Majewski & O'Brian, 1987, op cit. p 163. Sussman, 1997, op cit. pp 84-88.



Fig. 35. Industrial slipware bowls, British. Left: banded and trailed multi-coloured 'cable' design on an ochre background. Right: 'Mocha' decoration. Dated to the second quarter of the nineteenth century.

<sup>47</sup> Sussman, 1997. op cit. p 67.

One medium sized bowl, ca 140 mm diameter, trailed, wavy relief pattern, white on dark brown background with a medium brown band at the rim.

Carinated body shape, which became popular after second decade of nineteenth century.

4 rim and 4 body fragments.

Reference: Klose & Malan, 1993. op cit. p 32. Majewski & O'Brian, 1987, op cit. p 163. Sussman, 1997, op cit. pp 84-88.



Fig. 36. Industrial slipware, British, medium sized bowl, carinated shape, which became popular after 1840.

**CCS No: 5.1.1.6 Cream coloured ware - printed underglaze, MNV = 2**

One bowl, ca 160 mm diameter, cream coloured body, underglaze blue transfer print. On the outer surface an Italianate pattern, called "Blue Italian"<sup>48</sup>. Below the inner rim edge a leaf and stylised flower border with stippled areas. The border is typical of the design (introduced by Spode) popular in the first quarter of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

7 rim, 2 footring, 13 body fragments.

Reference: Copeland, R. 1982, p 18, top right plate border<sup>49</sup>.

See Fig. 37 on the next page.

<sup>48</sup> Spode Catalogue. 1998. *The Story of the Blue Room Collection*. A catalogue of Blue and white ceramics available from the Spode Factory. Published by Spode, Church Street, Stoke-on-Trent ST4 1BX, England, p 5.

<sup>49</sup> Copeland, Robert. 1982. *Blue and White Transfer-Printed Pottery*. Great Britain: Shire Publications Ltd, reprint 1988.





Fig. 37. Bowl, cream-coloured body, underglaze blue transfer print, Italianate pattern. Popular in the first quarter of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. (Reference: Copeland, R. 1982, *op cit.* p 18, top right plate, border design).

One dinner plate, thickly potted, low footring, cream coloured body, underglaze transfer printed in a paler shade of blue on the inner surface. "Wild Rose" decoration. The rim is slightly scalloped. It has been "noted that transfer-printed designs became less complex and tended to occupy less and less of a vessel surface"<sup>50</sup>. This plate is tentatively dated to the first quarter of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Reference: Copeland, R. 1982, *op cit.* p 19.  
6 body, 1 rim, 2 footring fragments.



Fig. 38. Dinner plate, refined ware, cream-coloured, blue underglaze transfer printed "Wild Rose" pattern, dated to the first quarter of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>50</sup> Majewski & O'Brian, 1987, *op cit.* p 146.

## CCS No. 5.1.2 Refined white-bodied: pearlware

subtotal MNV = 30 (27.5%)

By 1800 pearlware, introduced around 1780 by Josiah Wedgwood, had become popular, overtaking cream-coloured ware as the preferred table- and kitchen ware. Buyers of ceramics for the military followed the trend<sup>51</sup>. Pearlware is an archaeological term (never used by the manufacturers) for a type of late 18<sup>th</sup> to mid- 19<sup>th</sup> century British cream / white bodied refined earthenware<sup>52</sup>. Pearlware usually is characterised in the literature as having a bluish glaze, visible as puddling in crevices of a vessel<sup>53</sup>, especially the footring. Sometimes bluish dots are visible in the glaze originating from undissolved cobalt salts. The pearlware from York Redoubt has been classified on the overall glaze tint as well as on the underglaze decoration and vessel form.

The earliest decoration on the pearlware found at York Redoubt was a "moulded shell-edged pattern with blue underglaze painting at the rim only"<sup>54</sup>. No green underglaze painted shell-edged rims were present. An early version of the shell-edge pattern has an elaborate moulded, impressed and painted rim, which is presumed to represent natural shell rims<sup>55</sup>. Shell-edged tableware was manufactured from ca 1775 to ca 1860<sup>56</sup>. A later version of rim decoration consisted of a series of closely spaced impressed vertical lines with an even, smaller scalloped edge<sup>57</sup>, popular in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century<sup>58</sup>. As pearlware gave way to refined white-bodied wares, highly stylised versions of the shell-edge pattern on a straight rim became fashionable<sup>59</sup> and unscalloped / unmoulded rims from 1851 onwards<sup>60</sup>. The most common shell-edged rim decoration at York Redoubt is the even, small scalloped rim with impressed vertical lines and painted vertical blue lines, dating to the first quarter of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

A second category of pearlware present at York Redoubt is the blue underglaze transfer printed ware, manufactured by the Staffordshire potteries. The York Redoubt ceramic collection includes one base fragment each with the manufacturers marks: 'Spode' and 'Copeland & Garrett' (Fig. 39 below). Blue transfer printed ware in the Chinese style dominated the market from about 1790 to 1820, followed by floral motifs and idealised landscape designs.

<sup>51</sup> Sussman, 1978, op cit, p 98.

<sup>52</sup> Klose, 1997, op cit. p D.10. Klose assigns her pearlware ceramics to two CCS categories: 5.1.2.7 and 5.1.3.11, i.e. under pearlware and white-bodied ware - clear glaze, respectively.

<sup>53</sup> Majewski & O'Brian, 1987, op cit. p 118.

<sup>54</sup> Sussman, 1978, op cit. p 98.

<sup>55</sup> Sussman, Lynne. 1977. Changes in Pearlware Dinnerware, 1780-1830. *Historical Archaeology*, Vol. 11, 1977, p 106, Fig. 1.

<sup>56</sup> Klose, 1997, op cit. p F.5

<sup>57</sup> Sussman, 1977, op cit. p 106, Fig. 2.

<sup>58</sup> Klose, 1997, op cit. p F.6

<sup>59</sup> Sussman, 1977, op cit. p 107, Fig. 6.

<sup>60</sup> Klose, 1997, op cit. p F.6.



In the 1820s blue underglaze handpainted tea ware became fashionable as well. Around 1830 new colours came into use, which included red, black, and some lighter shades of blue and green<sup>61</sup>. The 'Willow Pattern', developed from two or more Chinese porcelain patterns, became standardised around 1790 and has been in production ever since<sup>62</sup>.

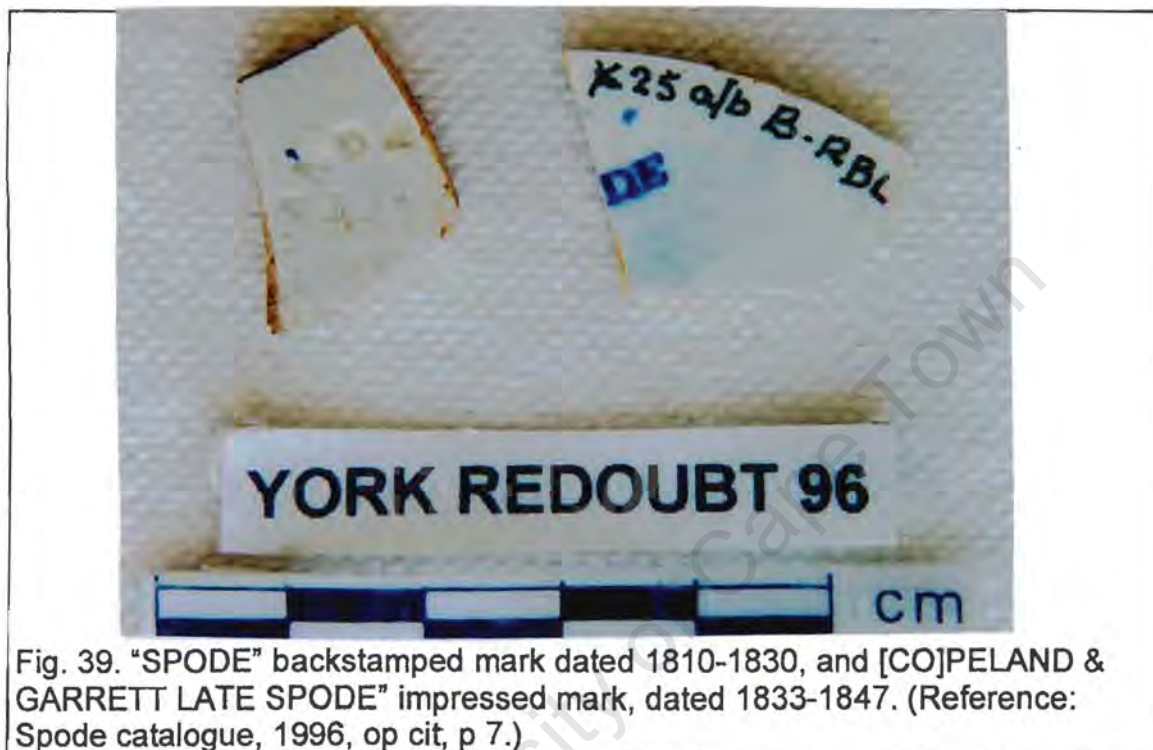


Fig. 39. "SPODE" backstamped mark dated 1810-1830, and [CO]PELAND & GARRETT LATE SPODE" impressed mark, dated 1833-1847. (Reference: Spode catalogue, 1996, op cit, p 7.)

CCS No: 5.1.2.1 Pearlware, painted blue

Tea- or coffee-pot lid, 2 adjoining fragments, underglaze, handpainted geometrical design in a bluish-grey colour. Miller (1980 places the price of simple painted wares [such as] geometric patterns above shell edge [ware]<sup>63</sup>. Dated to the second quarter of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Reference: Majewski & O'Brian, op cit, p 157.

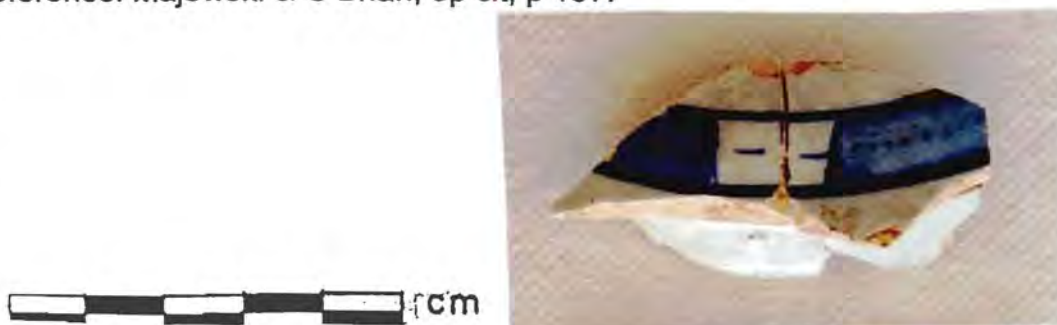


Fig. 40. Teapot lid, geometrical design, second quarter of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>61</sup> Miller, 1991, op cit. p 8.

<sup>62</sup> Miller, 1991, op cit. p 8.

<sup>63</sup> Miller, 1980, p 4.

One teacup with a handle. Underglaze blue handpainted. On the inner surface at the bottom a stylised grass/ reed circular design. Below the inner rim a band and line decoration. Outer surface decorated with a wavy, thin line and dot pattern, possibly highly stylised flowers. On the opposite outer surface a stylised thin line "leaf and sprig" decoration. Thick line below the outer rim. 3 footring / base fragments, 12 rim, 9 body fragments, one decorated handle fragment.

Dated to the first decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, probably around 1830.

Reference: Majewski & O'Brian, op cit, p 157.



Fig. 41. Teacup with handle, left: one side of the outer surface and inner surface bottom decoration. Right: decoration on the opposite side of the outer surface. Dated to the first decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, probably around 1830.

CCS No: 5.1.2.2 Pearlware, painted other

One jar with lid, cross-mended, underglaze hand-painted in soft mustard yellow, olive green and blue colours. "These colours remained common through the 1820s ... painted in floral motifs on tea ware"<sup>64</sup>. Thickly potted.

2 base, 11 rim, 5 body fragments.

Dated from ca 1800 to 1820. Reference: Miller, 1991, op cit, p 8.

See Fig. 42 below

<sup>64</sup> Miller, 1991, op cit, p 8.





Fig. 42. Jar with lid, pearlware, handpainted. Dated to the first quarter of the nineteenth century.

CCS No. 5.1.2.4 Printed underglaze Willow pattern, variations thereof and Chinoiserie.

One small cup base/footring fragment, footring ca 40 mm diameter. A small Chinoiserie pattern at the inner base of the cup.

References: Copeland, 1982. op cit, pp 13-14.

Majewski & O'Brian, 1987, op cit. p 119, write that "earlier pieces exhibit a blue that is more grey-toned than later pieces, especially those manufactured after 1820".

One saucer without a cupring<sup>65</sup>, ca 140 mm diameter at the rim, blue-greyish underglaze transfer print. Possibly modified "Two Temples pattern", attributed to W Mason, 1813-20. Staffordshire ware, individual workman's mark.

18 rim, 28 body, 7 footring/base fragments.

Dated from ca 1810 to 1820 or later.

Reference: Copeland, 1982. op cit. p 14, Figure at centre left and bottom left.

Majewski & O'Brian, 1987, op cit. p 119, write that "earlier pieces exhibit a blue that is more grey-toned than later pieces, especially those manufactured after 1820".

See Fig. 43 below.

<sup>65</sup> Saucers without a cupring and teacups without handles were manufactured until about 1810 and in use up to about 1830. See: Godden, 1966, op cit, p 6. and: Winer, MG. 1994. *Landscape of Power: British Material Culture of the Eastern Cape Frontier*. University of California, Berkeley: Unpublished PhD thesis in Anthropology, p 280.

One saucer without a cupring<sup>65</sup>, ca 140 mm diameter at the rim, blue-greyish underglaze transfer print. Possibly modified "Two Temples pattern", attributed to W Mason, 1813-20. Staffordshire ware, individual workman's mark.

18 rim, 28 body, 7 footring/base fragments.

Dated from ca 1810 to 1820 or later.

Reference: Copeland, 1982. op cit. p 14, Figure at centre left and bottom left.

Majewski & O'Brian, 1987, op cit. p 119, write that "earlier pieces exhibit a blue that is more grey-toned than later pieces, especially those manufactured after 1820".



Fig. 43. Saucer without a cupring. Possibly modified "Two Temples pattern", attributed to W Mason, 1813-20.

Dated from ca 1810 to 1820 or later.

(Reference: Copeland, 1982. op cit. p 14).

<sup>65</sup> Saucers without a cupring and teacups without handles were manufactured until about 1810 and in use up to about 1830. See: Godden, 1966, op cit, p 6. and: Winer, MG. 1994. *Landscape of Power: British Material Culture of the Eastern Cape Frontier*. University of California, Berkeley: Unpublished PhD thesis in Anthropology, p 280.



One cup or small sized bowl, ca 100 mm diameter at the rim, Chinoiserie pattern on the outer surface. Modified 'Willow pattern' border under the inner rim. The blue colour is more grey-tinted than bright blue.

Dated to the first two decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

2 footring/base, 6 rim, 14 body fragments.

References: Copeland, 1982. op cit, pp 13-14.

Majewski & O'Brian, 1987, op cit. p 119, write, that "earlier pieces exhibit a blue that is more grey-toned than later pieces, especially those manufactured after 1820".



Fig. 44. Cup or small sized bowl, Chinoiserie pattern on the outer surface, modified 'Willow pattern' border under the inner rim.

One small cup base/footring fragment, footring ca 40 mm diameter. A small Chinoiserie pattern at the inner base of the cup.

References: Copeland, 1982. op cit, pp 13-14.

Majewski & O'Brian, 1987, op cit. p 119, write that "earlier pieces exhibit a blue that is more grey-toned than later pieces, especially those manufactured after 1820".

## CCS No. 5.1.2.5 Printed underglaze blue

One saucer without a cupring, 180 mm diameter at the rim. Underglaze transfer print in royal blue. Italianate romantic ruins pattern, with a stylized floral border pattern commonly associated with this pattern.

6 footring, 1 base, 6 rim, 7 body fragments.

Dated to first quarter of 19<sup>th</sup> century.

Reference: Copeland, 1982, op cit, p 18, figure on top right, identical pattern to this example.



Fig. 45. Saucer without a cupring, Italianate romantic ruins pattern, dated to first quarter of 19<sup>th</sup> century.

One saucer, underglaze transfer print in royal blue, only identified by the rim decoration, which is commonly associated with an Italianate pattern, the border pattern is different to the saucer above.

3 rim, 2 body fragments. Probably dated to the first quarter of 19<sup>th</sup> century.

4 saucers without a cupring, ca 160 mm diameter at the rim, teaware, Spode Italianate pattern (also known as 'Blue Italian') with peach blossom, blackberry and vineleaf border. Spode introduced this pattern in 1816 and it was manufactured by Copeland in large quantities<sup>66</sup>. The saucers are matched by the cups in Figure 46 below.

41 rim, 28 footring, 22 body fragments.

Dated from 1816 to the second quarter of the nineteenth century.

Reference: Copeland, op cit, p 18.

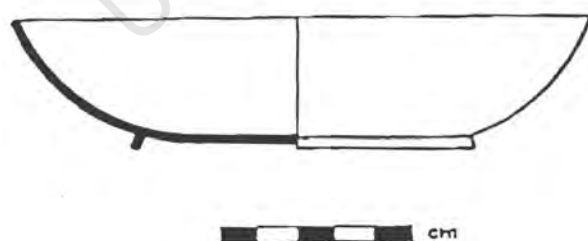


Fig. 46. Saucer without cupring, ca 160 mm diameter at the rim, Spode Italianate pattern (also known as 'Blue Italian') with peach blossom, blackberry and vineleaf border. Dated from 1816 to the second quarter of the nineteenth century.

<sup>66</sup> Coysh, AW, & Henrywood, RK. 1982. *The Dictionary of Blue and White Printed Pottery 1780 - 1880, Vol 1*. Woodbridge: Antique Collectors Club, p 191.



3 cups without handles, teaware, Spode Italianate pattern (also known as 'Blue Italian') with peach blossom, blackberry and vineleaf border, identical to the saucer decoration above. Spode introduced this pattern in 1816 and it was manufactured by Copeland in large quantities. The cups are matched to the saucers in Figure 45 above.

21 rim, 8 footring/base, 104 body fragments (these cups are extremely fragmented).

Dated from 1816 to the second quarter of the nineteenth century.

Reference: Copeland, *op cit*, p 18.

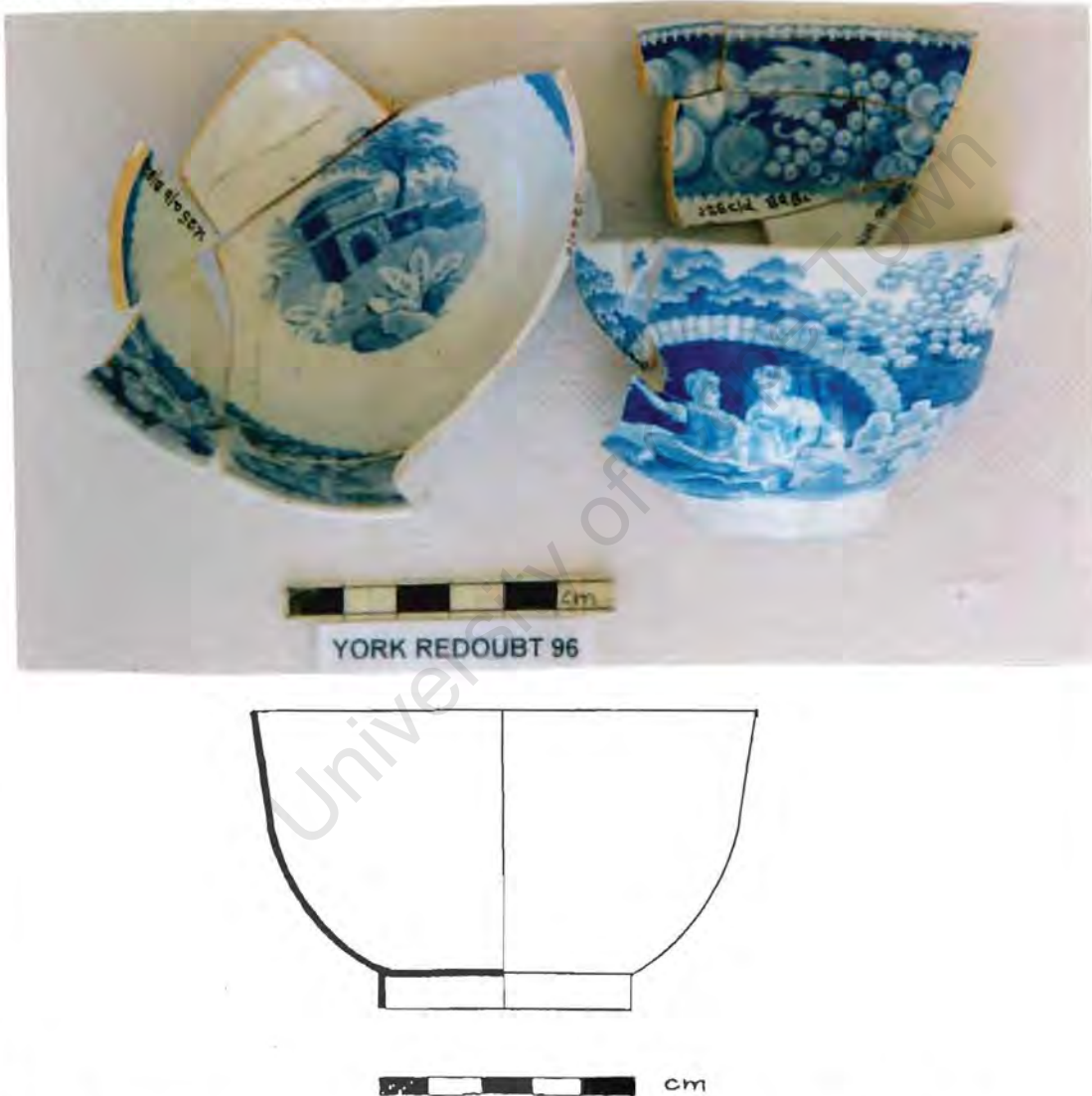


Fig. 47. Teacup, with profile. Matched to the saucers in Fig. 46. Spode Italianate pattern (also known as 'Blue Italian') with peach blossom, blackberry and vineleaf border. Dated from 1816 to the second quarter of the nineteenth century.

CCS No. 5.1.2.7 modified edge - shell-edge

MNV = 15



Fig. 48. Pearlware, modified edge - shell-edge or scalloped edge, blue stippled. Top: earliest version, dated to ca 1780-1800. Second from top: even scalloped, impressed, straight blue lines, dated to ca 1810-1840. Second from bottom: white-bodied ware, unscalloped, straight blue lines. Bottom: *ditto*, with a gold band. The last two date to the mid-nineteenth century. Reference: Klose, 1997, op cit. p 47, and: Sea Street, JAM6-2, REW/52.



One soup plate, 280 mm diameter, cross-mended, scalloped edge, blue stippled, small footring, flat base.

2 rim, 10 base, 2 body fragments.

Reference: Klose 1997, op cit. p 47, JAM6-2/REW51-52.

Dated to ca 1800-1830.

References: Klose 1997, op cit. p 56, pp F.5 and F.6, Sea Street JAM6/3RE60, Sussman, 1977, op cit. p 106, Fig. 2. and Sussman, 1978, op cit. p 98, Fig. 10.

Miller, 1980, op cit. p 27; and Miller, 1991, op cit. p 6.

2 side plates, ca 170 mm diameter, cross-mended.

31 rim, 13 body, 3 base fragments.

Dated to ca 1790-1820, based on the flat base with no footring.

References: Klose 1997, op cit. p 56, pp F.5 and F.6, Sea Street JAM6/3RE60, Sussman, 1977, op cit. p 106, Fig. 2. and Sussman, 1978, op cit. p 98, Fig. 10.

Miller, 1980, op cit. p 27; and Miller, 1991, op cit. p 6.



Fig. 50. Side plate, pearlware, scalloped edge, blue stippled, no footring, flat base. Dated to ca 1790-1820.

## CCS No. 5.1.2.12 pearlware, other

7 pear shaped jugs or creamers, based on cross-mending of bases. Two-tone decorated, upper / neck area medium blue underglaze and a bluish glazed paint or powder base, spots of undissolved cobalt salts visible. At the footring a presence of blue tinted glaze. The neck area is divided from the body by a band of relief moulding (Reference: Majewski & O'Brian, op cit. pp 118-119). 103 body, 22 rim/neck, 6 spout, 10 handle, 19 base/footring fragments. Jug design: Reference: Godden, 1966, p 173, Fig. 296<sup>67</sup>. Dated early nineteenth century. Reference: Miller, 1980, op cit. p 18.

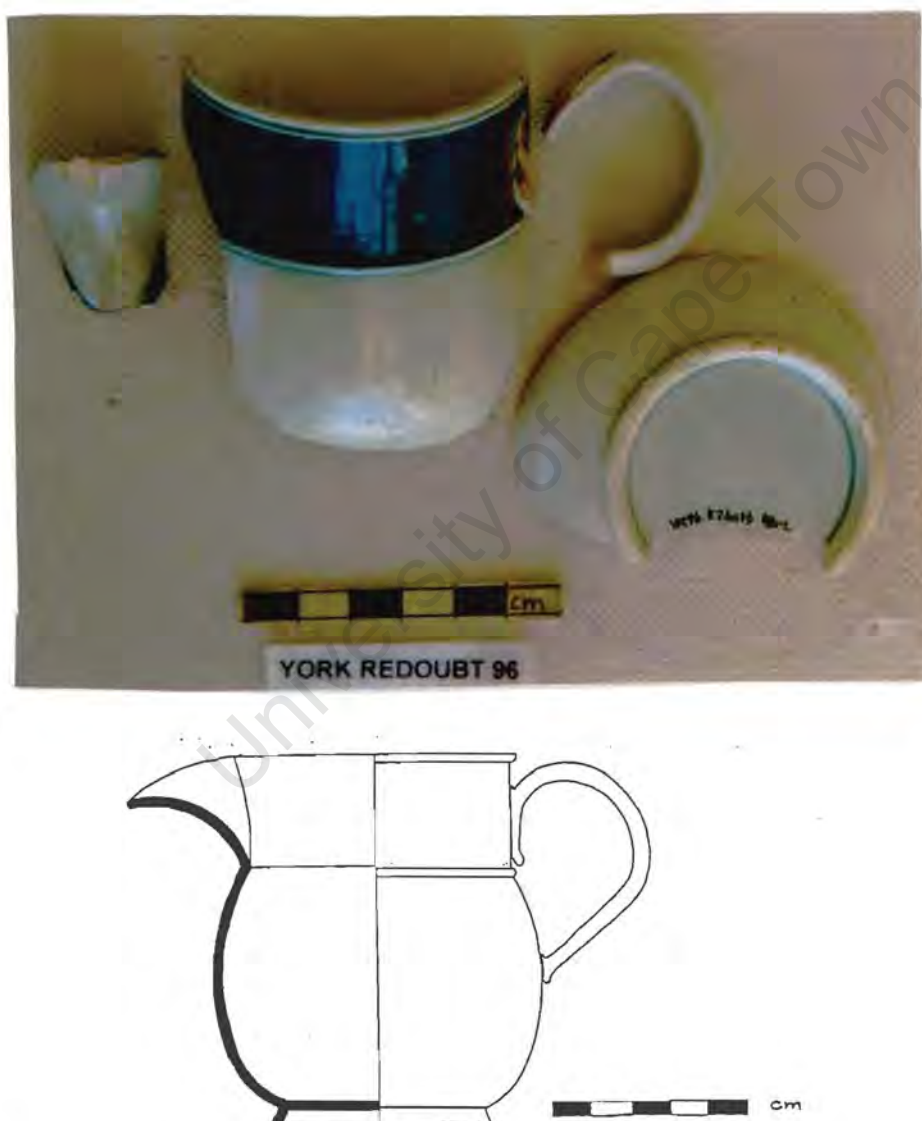


Fig. 51. Jug or creamer, pearlware, dated to the early nineteenth century.

<sup>67</sup> Godden, Geoffrey A. 1966. *An Illustrated Encyclopaedia of British Pottery and Porcelain*. London: Herbert Jenkins.

"Motto" plate, 150 mm diameter at the rim, pearlware, moulded relief on the rim, underglaze blue transfer print on the inner surface body of the plate. The rim's flowers are overglaze painted in mustard and royal blue. The form of the plate, i.e. footring, straight rim, has early 19<sup>th</sup> century traits, the decoration an early to mid 19<sup>th</sup> century popular decorative theme, a farm scene with the remains of a text "...ing well". The plate probably dates to the mid 19<sup>th</sup> century.

10 rim fragments, 7 body fragments.

References: Miller, 1991, op cit. p 13. Majewski & O'Brian, 1987, op cit, p Sussman, 1977, pp 109-111.



Fig. 52. "Motto Plate" of the mid-nineteenth century. Pearlware, blue underglaze transfer print, moulded relief and overglaze enamel painting on the rim.

CCS No. 5.1.3 white-bodied ware - clear glaze

MNV = 15 (13.8%)

CCS No: 5.1.3.1 painted blue

One teacup, about 90 mm diameter at the rim, probably without cup handle. Handpainted blue stylised floral decoration, connected by thin lines and dots on the outer surface, including a line below the rim. Also called "sprig pattern". At the bottom of the cup on the inside a flower / sprig decoration.

3 base fragments, 9 body, 6 rim fragments.

Dated to probably post-1830s.

Reference: Majewski & O'Brian, op cit, p 157.

See Fig. 53 below.





Fig. 53. Teacup, probably without cup handle, white-bodied ware, handpainted. Dated to probably post-1830s. Reference: Majewski & O'Brian, op cit, p 157.

One saucer, underglaze handpainted blue line and dot decoration, similar to the teacup above. 2 rim fragments.  
Dated to probably post-1830s.  
Reference: Majewski & O'Brian, op cit, p 157.



Fig. 54. Saucer, white-bodied ware, handpainted underglaze blue, decoration similar to teacup in Fig. 52 above. Dated to ca post-1830s.

CCS No: 5.1.3.5 printed, underglaze Willow pattern

One jar or pot, straight-sided, base ca 90 mm diameter, height unknown, printed in royal blue colour, Willow pattern. Dated possibly to the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

1 rim, 1 base, 5 body fragments.

Reference: Klose, 1997, op cit, p F.6. Copeland, 1982, op cit. p 14, Figure centre right. Copeland dates the pattern to 1805-1815, but writes that possibly a hundred or more potteries copied this design throughout the century.

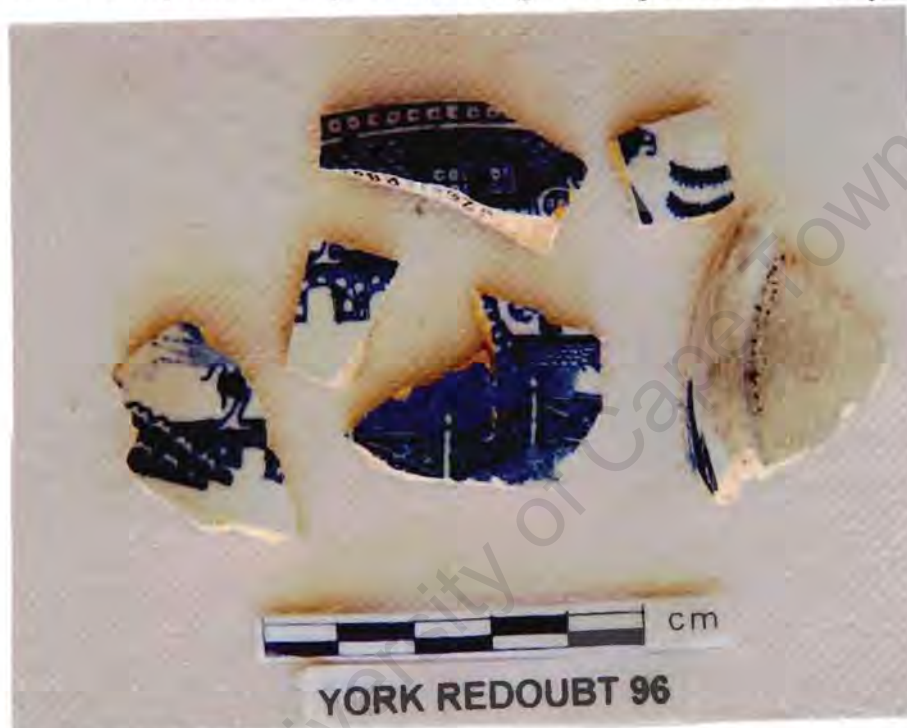


Fig. 55. Jar or pot, white-bodied ware, "Willow pattern". Dated possibly to the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

CCS No: 5.1.3.6 White-bodied ware, printed underglaze blue.

One fragment of a tea or coffee pot lid. Floral motif, blue underglaze transfer print. Dated probably to the second quarter of the nineteenth century.

Reference: Majewski & O'Brian, 1987, op cit. p 143.



Fig. 56. Tea or coffee pot lid. White-bodied ware, blue underglaze transfer print.



2 medium sized bowls, ca 120 to 160 mm diameter at the rim, the bowls are fragmented into pieces less than 50 mm across. Thickly potted. The carinated shape of the bowl points to a date after 1830. On the outer surface a romanticized English country estate scene, with several deer, shepherd or boatman, woods and 'grand' country houses. Inner surface decoration under the rim an elaborate stylised leaf / branch and peach blossom border. Dated from about the 1830s to the 1850s.

24 rim and 58 body fragments, no base / footring fragments identified.

Reference: Miller, 1991, op cit, p 9. Majewski & O'Brian, 1987, op cit, pp 143/4.

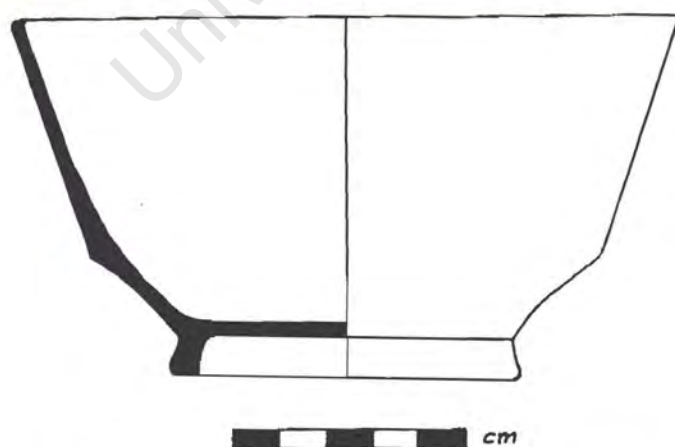


Fig. 57. Medium-sized bowl, white-bodied ware, carinated shape, cobalt blue transfer print. English 'country estate' scene. Dated from the 1830s to the 1850s.

One round teapot lid knob with a ventilation hole at its centre. Medium-blue dot decoration on top of the knob.

Two body fragments of a bowl or cup very similar to the teapot lid decoration with a floral motif. Blue underglaze transfer print.

Dated to after 1820. Reference: Majewski & O'Brian, 1987, op cit. p 143/4.



Fig. 58. Teapot lid knob with a ventilation hole, right: fragments of a mug or bowl. Dated to after 1820.

CCS No: 5.1.3.7 printed, underglaze colour

One body fragment, light green underglaze transfer printed ware. Floral motif. Dated probably ca 1840 to 1860.

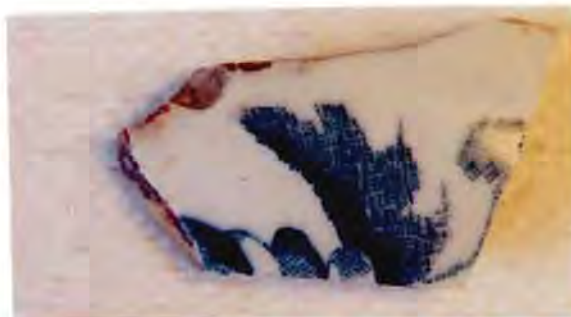


Fig. 59. Light green underglaze printed fragment of a hollow vessel.



One saucer with a cupring, cross-mended. Purple and lilac coloured underglaze transfer printed floral motif.

5 rim, 1 body, 2 base/footring fragments.

Popular after 1835.

Reference: Klose, 1997, op cit. p F.6.



Fig. 60. Saucer, white-bodied ware, with cupring, purple underglaze transfer print. Post-1835.

CCS No: 5.1.3.11 White-bodied ware, modified edge - shell

2 plates, modified edge - shell, unscaloped (straight rim edge), evenly spaced slightly curved vertical blue lines, thickly potted.

4 rim fragments, (2 without, 2 with a thin gold line). Common during the mid-nineteenth century. Klose, 1997, op cit, p F.6, dates them to after 1851 at the Cape, and Klose 1997, op cit. p L.57, p 70 (Barrack Street Well, level 3, REW/55).

See Fig. 48 above, the two lower fragments.

## CCS No 5.1.3.14 lined, band and line

One saucer with cupring, cross-mended, white-bodied ware, British, with underglaze blue band and line below the rim, and a second blue band in the middle of the rim.

6 rim, 2 base fragments.

Dated probably to the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

Reference: Klose, 1997, op cit. p 59, BAS-3/REW56. and

Miller, 1991, op cit, p 7.

2 body fragments with a thin red line, probably from a cup or bowl.

Dated probably to the second half of the nineteenth century.

Reference: Miller, 1991, op. cit. p 7.



Fig. 61. Saucer with cupring, mug, white-bodied ware, band and line decoration. Dated probably to the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

## CCS No: 5.1.3.17 White-bodied ware, other

One "Motto plate", 120 mm diameter, white-bodied ware. Moulded, stylized leaf and sprig relief on the rim. Clear glaze. Underglaze blue transfer print on inner surface of body, which consists of the 'LORD'S PRAYER' and a stylised fir branch surrounding the print.

14 rim, 20 body fragments.

The footring has early nineteenth century traits.

Dated to the mid-late nineteenth century.

References: Miller, 1991, op cit. p 13.

Sussman, 1977, op cit, pp 109-111.

See Fig. 62 below.



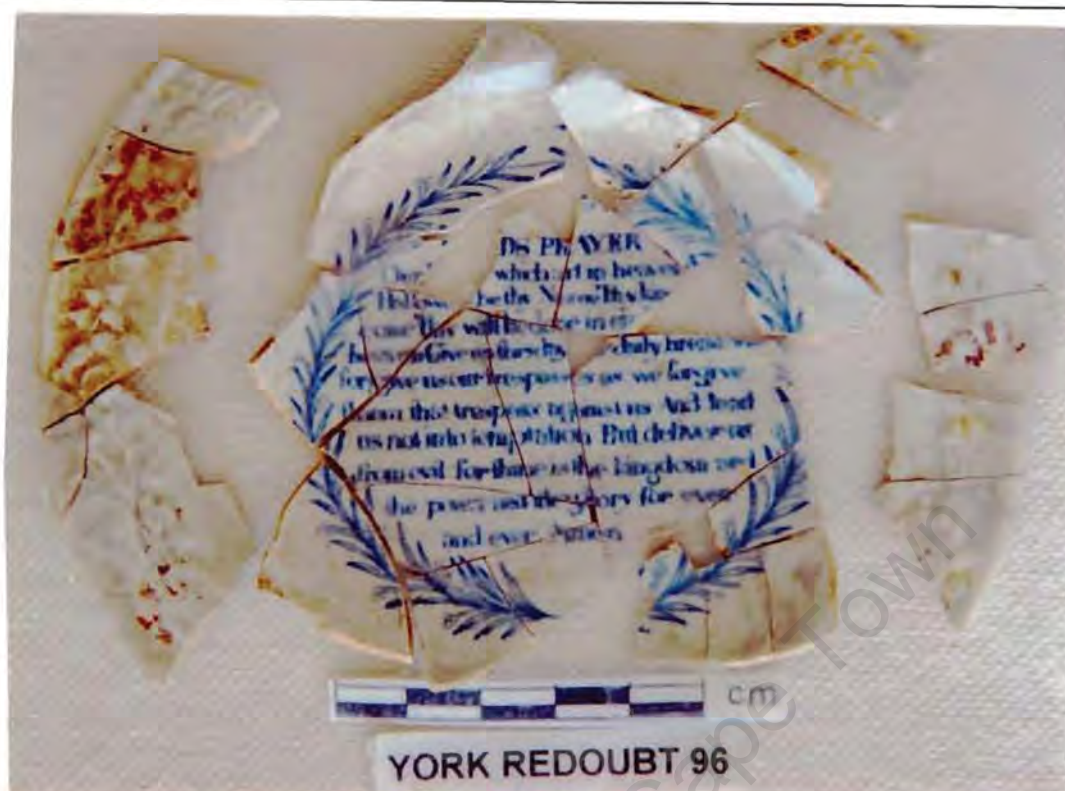


Fig. 62. "Motto plate", white-bodied ware, underglaze blue transfer print, the "Lord's Prayer", dated to the mid-late nineteenth century. (References: Miller, 1991, op cit. p 13. Sussman, 1977, pp 109-111.

**CCS No: 5.1.4 Other refined earthenware**

**MNV = 4 (3.7%)**

CCS No: 5.1.4.4 Yellow ware / annular ware

Yellow ware is a dense, partially vitrified earthenware made from naturally coloured buff or mustard coloured clay covered with a clear glaze. It is not referenced earlier than 1845<sup>68</sup>. Klose (1997) dates it in the Cape as appearing at about 1830<sup>69</sup>. Yellow ware vessels were used for food preparation, storage (i.e. kitchenware) and toilet ware.

One vessel, probably a bowl, clear glaze, ribbed, a simple white band applied below the rim.  
3 rim, 2 body fragments.  
Dated to the second half of the nineteenth century. Reference: Klose, 1997, op cit. p F.7.

Fig. 63. Yellow ware vessel, ribbed.



<sup>68</sup> Klose, 1997, op cit. p 77.

<sup>69</sup> Klose, 1997, op cit. p F.7.

Two bowls, 180 mm diameter at the rim, ca 75 mm at the footring. Plain, hemispherical, mustard coloured body, clear glaze. The bowls are fragmented into larger pieces of up to ca 70 mm across.

4 footring- (= 2 vessels), 16 rim fragments, 32 body fragments

Dated to the second half of the nineteenth century.

Reference: Klose, 1997, op cit. part II, p 71, REW/35. Miller, 1991. op cit, p 6:

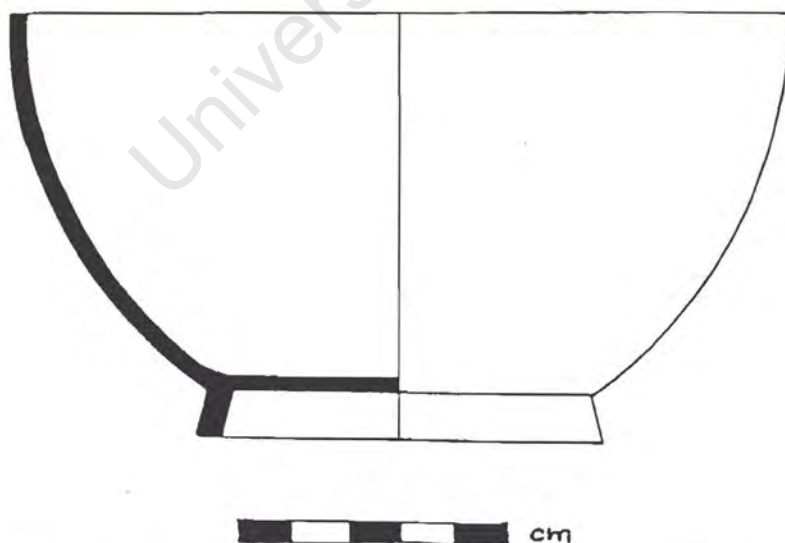


Fig. 64. Bowl, yellow ware, British, dated to the second half of the nineteenth century.



One jar or pot, straight sided, mustard coloured body, clear glaze, 100 mm diameter at base [and rim].

5 base fragments, 8 body fragments, no rim fragments.

Dated to the second half of the nineteenth century.

Reference: Klose, 1997, op cit. part II, p 71, REW/35. Miller, 1991. op cit, p 6.



Fig. 65. Jar, yellow ware, British kitchenware, dated to the second half of the nineteenth century

#### 4.3.1.4 Discussion: - The ceramic collection

Using Klose's Cape Classification System (CCS system) a consistency of identification has been achieved, although in some instances classification as to ware type was probably misjudged or not as clear as the literature suggested.

This was the case with some pearlware and white-bodied ware fragments.

Another difficulty was presented by the small size of some fragments, those from about 2-20 mm in diameter, which could be assigned with some confidence only after second and third sortings. Having said this, however, it became quickly clear that the ceramic collection from York Redoubt, which was overwhelmingly of British origin, could be classified into a few distinct popular, mass-produced decorative classes, tailored to the lower end of the economic spectrum. Table 2 provides a summary of the ceramic items, which have been catalogued in the previous pages, with a total fragment count and the minimum

number of vessels identified (MNV), as well as the percentage of MNV for the ware categories. Only ware types identified in the York Redoubt collection were extracted from Klose's CCS table<sup>70</sup>.

Table 2. Ware categories, fragment and MNV count, York Redoubt, 1996.

WARE TABLE, YORK REDOUBT	rim	body	base/foot -ring	Total No of fragments	MNV	% NMV
<b>PORCELAIN, Asian</b>						6,4 %
CCS No. 1.1.1.1 Chinese export ware, underglaze-blue	2	1	1	4	2	
CCS No. 1.1.2.1 Asian market ware, coarse, underglaze-blue	6	8	1	15	1	
ditto		6		6	1	
CCS No. 1.1.2.2 Asian market ware, coarse, enamelled	4		2	6	1	
ditto		4		4	1	
CCS No. 1.1.2.4 undecorated/undiagnostic		1		1	1	
<b>PORCELAIN, European</b>						5,5 %
CCS No. 1.2.2.3 white & gold	2	2		4	1	
CCS No. 1.2.3.2 enamelled	2			2	1	
ditto	1	1		2	1	
CCS No. 1.2.3.4 undecorated/undiagnostic	1	6		7	1	
ditto		1		1	1	
ditto		1		1	1	
<b>STONEWARE</b>						16.5%
CCS No. 2.2.2.3, British, brown salt-glazed	3	18	3	24	1	
ditto		1	2	3	1	
ditto		1		1	1	
ditto		2		2	1	
ditto		2		2	1	
CCS No. 2.2.2.4 commercial/industrial	3	7	2	12	1	
ditto	1	2	1	4	2	
ditto	1			1	1	
ditto		4		4	1	
ditto		17		17	1	
CCS No. 2.2.2.9 other	1			1	1	
British / Continental stoneware		3	1	4	3	
ditto		9		9	1	
ditto	5	10		15	1	
ditto	1	1		2	1	
<b>COARSE EARTHENWARE</b>						2.8 %
CCS No. 3.1.3.7 European & Cape manufactured coarse earthenware	2	2		4	1	
ditto	2	9		11	1	
ditto		4	1	5	1	

<sup>70</sup> Klose, 1997, op cit, Appendix E,



Table 2 continued .... Ware categories, fragment and MNV count, York Redoubt, 1996

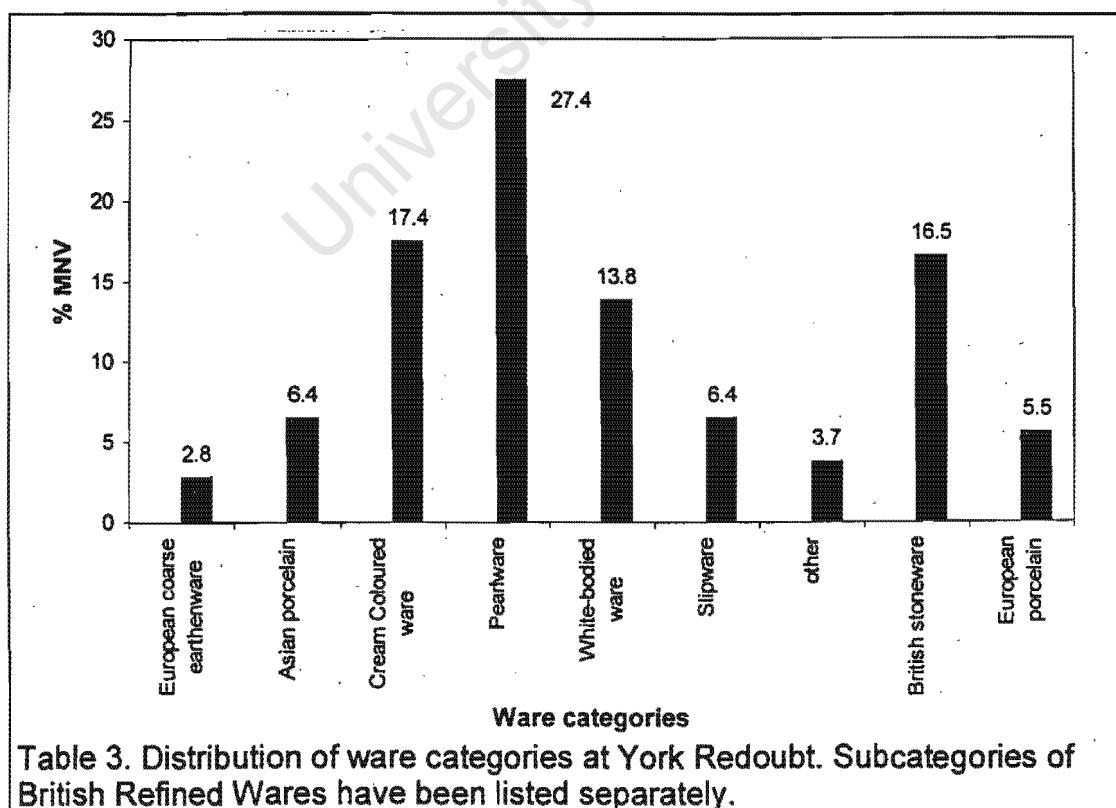
WARE TABLE, YORK REDOUBT, continued ...	rim	body	base/foot-ring	Total No of fragments	MNV	% NMV
EUROPEAN REFINED WARE				TOTAL		68.7%
CREAM COLOURED WARE				subtotal		17.4%
CCS No. 5.1.1.1 undecorated, plain	18	37	4	59	1	
ditto	20	8	20	48	5	
ditto		23		23	4	
ditto	62			62	2	
ditto		23		23	2	
ditto	60	2	3	65	2	
CCS No. 5.1.1.2 undecorated Queen/Royal rim	5	2	1	8	1	
CCS No. 5.1.1.9 undiagnostic	28	678		706	?	
CCS No. 5.1.1.6 printed underglaze	7	13	2	22	1	
ditto	1	6	2	9	1	
INDUSTRIAL SLIPWARE				subtotal		6.4 %
CCS No. 5.1.1.7 annular / dipped	4	4	2		1	
ditto	10	33		43	1	
ditto		1		1	1	
ditto	2			2	1	
ditto	12	17		29	1	
ditto		8	3	11	1	
ditto	4	4		8	1	
PEARLWARE				subtotal		13.8 %
CCS No. 5.1.2.1 painted blue	2			2	1	
ditto	12	9	3	24	1	
CCS No. 5.1.2.2 painted other	11	5	2	18	1	
CCS No. 5.1.2.4 printed underglaze Willow pattern	18	28	7	53	1	
ditto	6	14	2	22	1	
ditto			1	1	1	
CCS No. 5.1.2.5 printed underglaze blue	6	7	7	20	1	
ditto	3	2		5	1	
ditto	41	22	28	91	4	
ditto	21	104	8	133	3	
SHELL-EDGED WARE				subtotal		13.8%
CCS No. 5.1.2.7 modified edge - shell	1			1	1	
ditto	43	15	14	72	2	
ditto	4	6		10	1	
ditto	2	2	10	14	1	
ditto	31	13	3	47	2	
other						
CCS No. 5.1.2.12 other	22	119	19	160	7	
ditto	10	7		17	1	
WHITE-BODIED WARE -CLEAR GLAZE				subtotal		13.8%
CCS No. 5.1.3.1 painted blue	6	9	3	18	1	
ditto	2			2	1	
ditto	1	5	1	7	1	

Table 2 continued .... Ware categories, fragment and MNV count, York Redoubt, 1996

WARE TABLE, YORK REDOUBT, continued ...	rim	body	base/foot-ring	Total No of fragments	MNV	% NMV
CCS No. 5.1.3.7 printed underglaze colour		1		1	1	
ditto	5	1	2	8	1	
CCS No. 5.1.3.9 printed flow	1			1	1	
ditto	24	58		82	2	
ditto		1		1	1	
ditto		2		2	1	
CCS No. 5.1.3.11 modified edge - shell	4			4	2	
CCS No. 5.1.3.14 lined, band & line	6		2	8	1	
ditto		2		2	1	
5.1.3.17 other	14	20		34	1	
<b>OTHER REFINED EARTHENWARE</b>				subtotal		3.7%
CCS No. 5.1.4.4 yellow ware / annular	3	2		5	1	
ditto	16	32	4	52	2	
ditto	3	1		4	1	
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>590</b>	<b>1470</b>	<b>166</b>	<b>2216</b>	<b>109</b>	<b>100%</b>

Table 3 illustrates the percentages of ware categories and British refined ware subcategories - expressed in MNV - more clearly in the form of a chart:

The chart's x axis is organised in such a way, that it shows the earlier manufacturing date of a ware category found at York Redoubt on the left and the later dated on the right (not to scale).



Bearing in mind that at the Cape British ceramic imports on a large scale were only possible after the British occupation of 1795, the ware table for York Redoubt, occupied from 1795 onwards, was expected to reveal a clear preference for mass-produced British, preferable Staffordshire ware. Even with an occupation span of only about thirty years at York Redoubt, trends in ware categories, as these came on the market and were economically priced, could be followed. If it is assumed, that the British army victualers and / or regimental agents supplied York Redoubt with the majority of the tableware, it was likely that they would acquire large quantities of readily available wares of low decorative variability and pleasing matchability<sup>71</sup>. The York Redoubt collection confirms this expectation.

The most common items were large dinner plates and medium-sized bowls; the latter used throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century as a multi-purpose food consumption item. Only two sets of dinner plates were present: undecorated cream-coloured ware and shell-edged pearlware, whose date of manufacture roughly fall within the occupation span of York Redoubt. The shell-edged pearlware set comprises not only dinner and soup plates, but also matching side plates. The medium sized bowl collection ranges from the cream-coloured wares of the late eighteenth century to the white-bodied, decorated wares of the mid-nineteenth century. It embraces several decorative subcategories, not only blue transfer printed ware, but also banded, finger-trailed and mocha decoration on slipwares, which became very popular in later years. Plates and bowls exhibit use-wear marks, indicating moderate to heavy usage. The wear marks on the large cream-coloured bowl are, however, different to those long cuts and scratches made by metal knives and spoons on the plates. The even wear of the bowl surface suggests that it was used as a wash basin by an officer, but not often cleaned or scoured, as this would have produced long sweeping marks<sup>72</sup>. Serving platters and -bowls are absent.

<sup>71</sup> Sussman, 1978, op cit, p 93. I

<sup>72</sup> The use-wear marks were inspected and compared with the ceramics in my own home.

At first glance, the quantity and decorative type of teaware seems more at home in an officers' mess than on a low ranking military post. Besides matching teacups and saucers, tea- or coffee-pots and small bowls, seven identical creamers (or creamjugs) were found, a large quantity compared to the number of cups and saucers<sup>73</sup>. None of the creamers matched the remainder of the teaware, although the decorative colours probably produced an acceptable match. The blue transfer-printed saucers contained no cuprings and only one small fragment of a cuphandle was found amongst the seven cups of this period. All the teaware components, which included a lidded jar, were manufactured during the first two decades of the nineteenth century. Since the York Redoubt teaware and dinnerware would have been used together at breakfast and possibly at other meals, the combined patterns of the two sets would have had a pleasing effect, which was at the same time affordable and fashionable<sup>74</sup>.

The British stoneware collection consists almost entirely of beer / ginger beer bottles, a few food storage containers, ink bottles, one shoe polish container and one pharmaceutical vessel, an ointment jar. Three vessels date to the earlier, but the majority dates to the later years of the redoubt's occupation or was discarded after its decommissioning in 1829. This would also include the Yellow ware medium sized bowls and the jars.

Besides British manufactured ceramics, two locally produced European-style coarse earthenware pots and one storage jar, pre-dating the establishment of the redoubt in 1795, were found. The coarse earthenware pots were probably used for cooking purposes over an open fire as they had charcoal marks at the base and sides. Visitors, slaves, servants and common soldiers might have introduced the small percentage of Asian porcelain teaware items and bowls to the site. The post-occupational late 19<sup>th</sup> century European porcelain,

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<sup>72</sup> The use-wear marks were inspected and compared with the ceramics in my own home.

<sup>73</sup> The ceramic fragments, when cross-mended, were found to be evenly distributed over the layers and squares, roughly in accordance with the amount of deposit excavated. However, only about half of the deposit was removed. I

<sup>74</sup> Sussman, 1978, op cit, p 99.

all of it mass-produced, is possibly connected to the British army manoeuvres conducted on the slopes of Devil's Peak<sup>75</sup>.

Does the ceramic assemblage from York Redoubt, a military site, differ from domestic sites found elsewhere at the Cape? If so, what were these differences and how can the ceramic analysis yield information about social dimensions and cultural context at a military site at the Cape?

Table 4 compares percentages MNV of ware categories from two domestic sites situated in Cape Town with the York Redoubt collection. The occupational layers chosen from the domestic sites concur roughly with the York Redoubt occupational period.

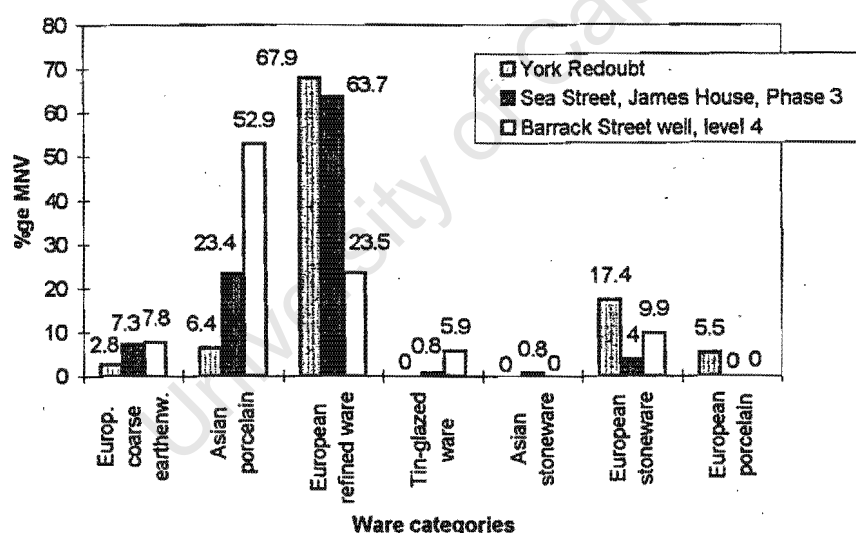


Table 4. Comparison of ware categories from three sites, dating to the late 18<sup>th</sup> / early 19<sup>th</sup> century: York Redoubt, Sea Street, James House, Phase 3, and Barrack Street well, level 4.

Overall, at York Redoubt, the presence and absence of those categories do not differ much from those found at contemporary domestic sites in the Cape, except that at York Redoubt not a single tin-glazed fragment has been

<sup>75</sup> During a survey in 1995, thousands of ceramic fragments were found by the author on the slopes above and around the other Blockhouses on Devil's Peak.



found<sup>76</sup>. Where the sites differ substantially, is in the composition and greater diversity of decorative sub-categories, which mirrors the mixed cultural identity of the Cape's population. Contemporary layers of the Sea Street (James House) and the Barrack Street well domestic sites contain a large percentage of Asian porcelain, 23.4% and 52.9% MNV respectively. It should be noted that Asian mass-produced porcelain was used in Cape households as everyday kitchenware during the VOC period. In addition, a certain time lag for the introduction of British mass-produced ceramic categories into the Cape's domestic households is evident, probably reflecting - amongst other factors - affordability, availability, opportunity of selection and cultural adaptation. European-style, probably locally produced coarse earthenware is present in the domestic assemblages by about 8% MNV, whereas the comparative figure from York Redoubt is 2.8% MNV. This seems to reflect on the food-procuring component of the assemblages. At domestic sites, food was probably cooked in smaller portions in earthenware pots as opposed to - say - large iron tripods. European stoneware containers form a large percent (17.4%) of the York Redoubt assemblage, compared to 4% and 9.9% respectively for the domestic sites. However, the majority of vessels found at York Redoubt, European stoneware bottles manufactured after about 1830, seem to have been used by visitors to the site as portable small containers for ginger beer, ale and mineral water refreshments.

An assessment of the ceramic vessels based on the functional use of ceramics in foodways followed. Integration with excavated artefacts of similar function, such as metal cutlery items yielded additional information on the form and functional use of ceramic vessels. In Table 5 form and function of vessels were assigned, the Minimum Numbers of Vessels (MNV) identified and the percentage of these MNVs. They were taken from Klose's (1997) dissertation.<sup>77</sup>

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<sup>76</sup> Klose, 1997, op cit. For the purpose of this argument the data from the two sites chosen was taken from her dissertation, Chapters Seven and Eight, and pp 181-183.

<sup>77</sup> Klose, 1997, op cit, Appendix G.

	Porcelain		Stoneware	Earthenware		Refined ware					Total MNV	% MNV
	Asian	Europe	European	Europe	Asian/Afric	Cream-col.war	Pearlwa	White-bodied	Yellow wa			
<b>Cooking</b>												
cooking pot					2						2	1.8%
basin/bowl		1				1					2	1.8%
<b>Food consumption</b>												
plate 200-260mm						8	5	2			15	13.6%
plate, small, <190 mm		1					2				3	2.7%
bowl, medium sized	2	1				13			3		19	17.3%
bowl, small	1										1	0.9%
lidded pot/jar	1						1				2	1.8%
<b>Drinking</b>												
cup without handle	1						5	1			7	6.4%
cup with handle		1					1				2	1.8%
saucer without cupring	1						7	1			9	8.2%
saucer with cupring		1						2			3	2.7%
jug, medium sized						1					1	0.9%
creamjug							7				7	6.4%
tea/coffee/pot/lid	2					4	1	2			9	8.2%
<b>Health/Hygiene</b>												
jar without lid			1					1	1		3	2.7%
<b>Utilitarian ware</b>												
bottle, beer, carbonated water			5	1							6	5.5%
container: ie ink, boot polish etc			5		3						8	7.3%
swing bottle stopper		1									1	0.9%
<b>Ornamental ware</b>												
"Motto"plates							1	1			2	1.8%
figurine		1									1	0.9%
<b>Unidentified</b>			3	1	1			1			6	5.5%
hollow ware								1			1	0.9%
<b>Total MNV</b>	8	7	14	2	6	27	30	12	4		109	100.0%
<b>Percentage MNV</b>	7.30%	6.40%	12.70%	1.80%	5.50%	24.60%	27.30%	10.90%	3.60%		100%	

Table 5. Form and function table for the ceramics, York Redoubt.

In Table 6 the form and function categories of the vessels, as far as could be assigned with some certainty, are illustrated as a pie chart.

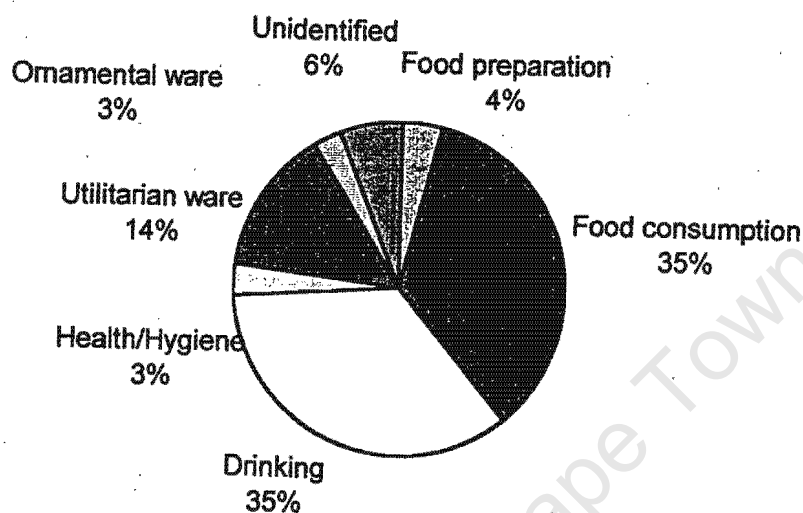
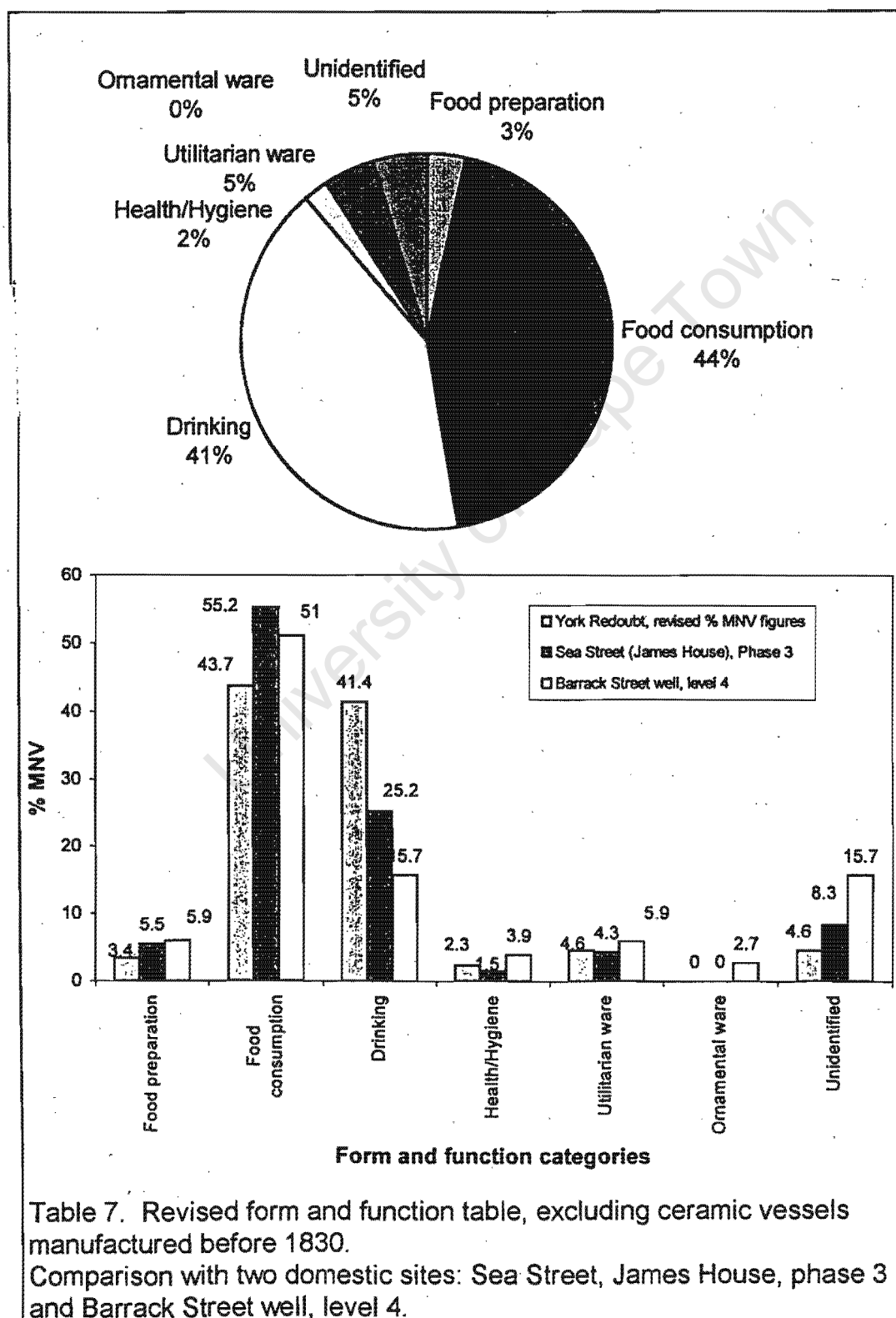


Table 6. Summary of the form and function categories for all ceramic vessels excavated at York Redoubt.

The identification of form and possible function of almost all vessels excavated at York Redoubt was an attempt to assign cultural meaning to the collection in the context of a military site. The interpretation of the bulk of the assemblage has - as stated above - enabled us to date the site independently from the historical documents and compare the ceramic assemblage with those from contemporary domestic sites in the greater Cape Town area, i.e. the Barrack Street well and the Sea Street assemblage. This will be illustrated in Table 8. However, the percentage of vessels falling within distinct form and function categories is skewed, as all vessels found were counted. Visitors to the site after the military occupation of the site ended in 1829 probably discarded the broken stoneware bottles and several medium-sized bowls, which had by now become affordable to the underclasses. Therefore, the number of post-1830s bowls - and for that matter stoneware containers - distorts the picture of food consumption behaviour at York Redoubt.

In Table 7 ceramic vessels manufactured after about 1830 have been taken out of the equation and a different picture emerges. The revised form and function profile of York Redoubt is then compared to the profiles of two domestic sites, Sea Street, James House, phase 3 and Barrack Street well, level 4.



The proportion of York Redoubt vessels for food consumption has now risen dramatically from 70% to 85%, utilitarian ware reduced from 14% to 5% and ornamental ware does not feature at all. The York Redoubt vessels all belonged to the kitchen- and tableware category, as opposed to - for instance - sanitary ware or building material. This is an important distinction. The only evidence for any kind of toiletry vessel seems to be the large undecorated cream-coloured bowl. Vessels for food consumption – plates, medium-sized bowls and teaware - dominate the ceramic assemblage, followed by a few food storage containers and lastly food preparation vessels.

The revised form and function profile of York Redoubt compared to the profiles of the two domestic sites, Sea Street, James House, phase 3 and Barrack Street well, level 4 reveals the following interesting points.

Whereas in the minor function categories – health/hygiene and utilitarian ware – the percentage of vessel component is roughly equal on military and domestic sites, food consumption and drinking vessel count varies greatly. No ornamental ceramic ware graced the table at York Redoubt, nor were there many unidentified vessel forms. York Redoubt was a plain, sober working place, with a comparatively large component of teaware, in the form of cups and saucers, tea- or coffee pots and creamers.

Whether the tableware provided for, or legally / illegally acquired compared to other regiments was of a higher or lower price and quality is not known, this being the first comprehensive study of ceramics from a Cape military site. Studies on early nineteenth century military material culture and behaviour at the Cape colony have not been undertaken and / or published as far as it is known to me.



The presence of large numbers of troops during the first British occupation at the Cape changed the ceramic market considerably, although the civilian population continued to buy some Chinese porcelain into the early years of the nineteenth century<sup>78</sup>. However, cheap, mass-produced Staffordshire wares, which predominate at York Redoubt, were soon to signal preferences in the social aspiration of householders all over the city<sup>79</sup>. To be able to construct a picture of the foodways at a site, one cannot look at ceramics alone. A holistic approach encompassing the entire archaeological assemblage is required. We therefore turn our attention to the glass collection in the next section.

#### 4.3.2 THE GLASS COLLECTION FROM YORK REDOUBT

Although glass fragments are one of the most durable artefactual remains found on historical sites in the Cape, a standardised system of cataloguing glass artefacts has not been developed and / or published specifically for the Cape. The classification system used in this thesis is therefore taken from the work of Parks Canada researchers<sup>80</sup>. The glass items (or fragments thereof) are classified according to vessel type or function, followed by form and decoration subcategories. Usually, a collection contains a number of unidentifiable fragments, these will be catalogued separately. The glassware is dated by known changes in manufacturing technologies, physical properties and decorative finishes.

The majority of the glass sherds from York Redoubt were collected in squares J and K in the red brick layer and the black layer (see Fig. 13, p 52). These

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<sup>78</sup> Klose, 1997. op cit, p 179.

<sup>79</sup> Hall, M, Halkett, D, Klose, J & Ritchie, G. 1990. The Barrack Street Well: Images of a Cape Town Household in the Nineteenth Century. *South African Archaeological Bulletin* 45: 73-92, p. 84.

<sup>80</sup> Jones, O. & Sullivan, C. et al. 1985. *The Parks Canada Glass Glossary for the Description of Containers, Tableware, Flat Glass, and Closures*. National Historic Parks and Sites Branch, Parks Canada, Environment Canada. The analysis was carried out in 1997 with the assistance of Glenda Cox, University of Cape Town, Department of Archaeology.

units also contained the largest volume by excavated material. Cross-mending of the glass sherds helped to re-inforce the impression that the artefactual material was found in a stratigraphically unreliable context.

#### 4.3.2.1 Glass containers

Glass containers are a general term used here for commercial bottles and jars. These include food storage containers and containers acquired for their content only. Bottles, jars and stoppers/lids were also being re-used for storing and covering different contents than the original. Children re-used clay and glass marbles as well as re-fashioned glass sherds as toys<sup>81</sup>.

The glass containers from York Redoubt were identified by certain features such as neck, stem and base construction. The dating of the containers was facilitated by, amongst others, the recognition of manufacturing techniques and decorative attributes. Before the introduction of local glass manufacturing works at the beginning of the twentieth century, all glass was imported from Britain and the European continent<sup>82</sup>.

#### Case bottles

Eleven case bottles were found at York Redoubt. These bottles are square-bodied and fat, blown from a dark green coloured glass. Case bottles were imported from the Netherlands and Britain. The two earlier specimens dated to the late 17<sup>th</sup> / early 18<sup>th</sup> century were less uniform, with bases usually equal in size to the shoulder, approx. 70mm. By the 19<sup>th</sup> century the base had become narrower to about 53mm. All case bottles have kick-ups and, with the exception of one base, pontil scars. During the 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries a collar of glass was wrapped around the neck, of which we have two examples (Fig. 66). We found no broad, sloping collars of glass typical of the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century<sup>83</sup>.

<sup>81</sup> The author's own childhood memories.

<sup>82</sup> Lastovica et al, op cit. pp 15-24.

<sup>83</sup> See: Abrahams, G. 1987. Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century Bottles excavated from the Fort De Goede Hoop, Cape Town. *Annals of the South African Cultural History Museum*, Vol. 1, No 1. and: Hedges, AAC. 1994. *Bottles and Bottle Collecting*. Shire Publications Ltd, Shire Album No 6, p 8. and: Lastovica et al, op cit. pp 37-38.

Case bottles usually contained gin or *Schnapps*, i.e. hard liqueur. Gin was also sold from barrels, so the number of case bottles found does not necessarily correspond to the amount of hard liqueur consumed on site.

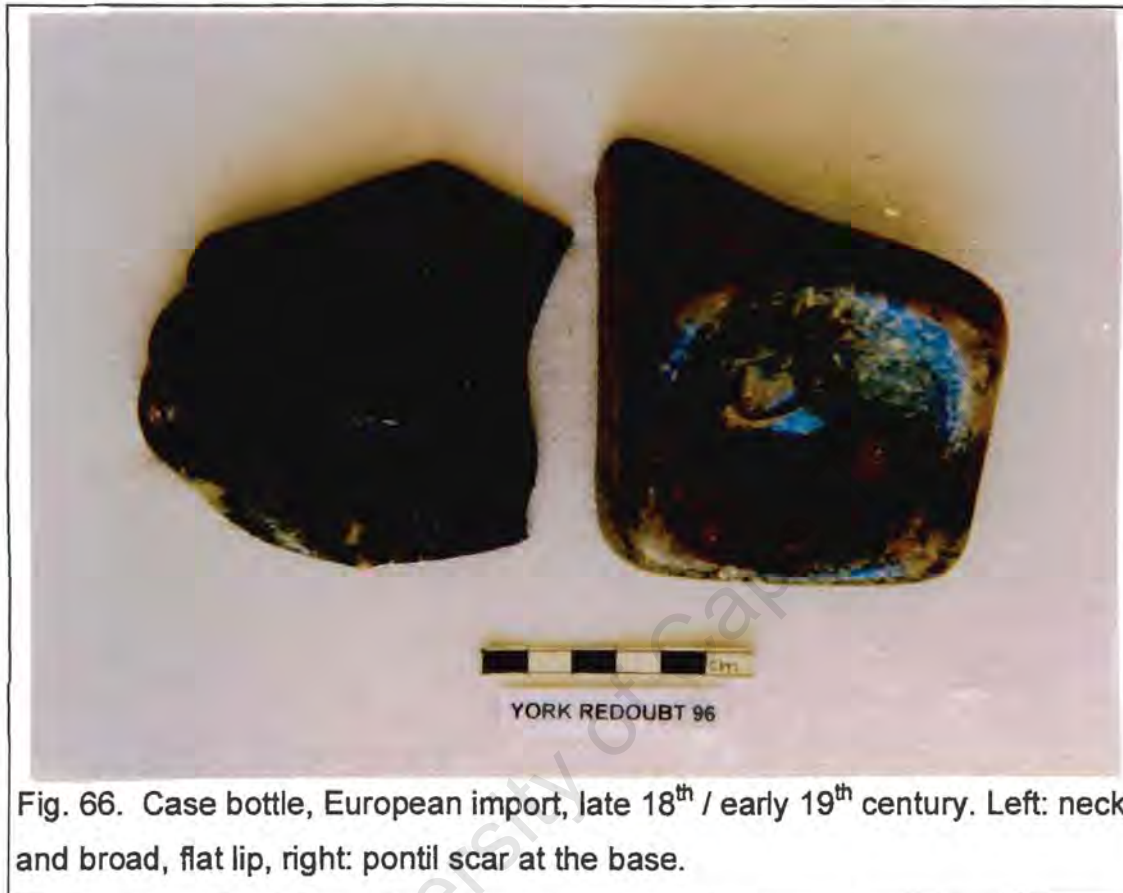


Fig. 66. Case bottle, European import, late 18<sup>th</sup> / early 19<sup>th</sup> century. Left: neck and broad, flat lip, right: pontil scar at the base.

### Cylindrical bottles

The York Redoubt collection contains 47 cylindrical vessels, all of them wine or beer bottles. Two types of British manufactured bottles dominate the collection. The first bottle type is known as an English 'black' wine bottle. It has a hummock shaped kick-up where a sand pontil has been used<sup>84</sup>. Many of the bases found at York Redoubt have sand pontils and a 'bulged' heel, a feature that went out of use around 1830<sup>85</sup>. The necks are fitted with double-string rims. One of these vessels can be dated to around 1785 and 35 probably date to the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> / early 19<sup>th</sup> century because they have no

<sup>84</sup> Jones, O. 1983a. Glass Bottle Push-ups and Pontil Marks. *Historical Archaeology*, Vol 5, pp 62-73.

<sup>85</sup> Dumbrell, R. 1992. *Understanding Antique Wine Bottles*. Woodbridge: Antique Collectors

seams (Fig. 67). Three of the wine bottle necks are from small vessels-possibly half-pint or less, called 'half-bottles'. The necks show early features and probably date to the late 18<sup>th</sup> century<sup>86</sup>.

The second type is a true cylinder with straight sides made in a three-piece or 'Ricketts mould'. The base normally has a raised resting surface, which could be embossed. The first 3-piece mould vessels appeared around 1811<sup>87</sup>. This new technique allowed higher production rates. Yet, the method was not entirely mechanised: bottles were manually blown into the mould and the string rim finish was formed by hand. In 1821 Henry Ricketts was granted a patent for a fully standardised bottle-making mould<sup>88</sup>. Seven English wine bottles date to after 1811, but show not quite finished, early features. Three English wine bottles were half-sized, also called demi-johns.



Fig. 67. From left: two 'Continental' type wine bottles, three English 'black' wine bottles, all dated to the late 18<sup>th</sup> / early 19<sup>th</sup> century. (Reference: Dumbrell, op cit. pp 38-39).

Club.

<sup>86</sup> Dumbrell, op cit. p 101.

<sup>87</sup> Dumbrell, op cit. p 22.

<sup>88</sup> Dumbrell, op cit, p 26.



Certain features separate cylindrical bottles manufactured in England from continental ones. Continental bottles have narrower, more cone-shaped kick-ups, a glass blowpipe pontil, longer necks, string rims that are flat and snugly applied<sup>89</sup>.

A wine bottle seal, embossed "I.C. Hoffmann" (Fig 68), was found at York Redoubt. A similar seal was excavated from the Castle Moat<sup>90</sup>. Dumbrell dates the seal to ca 1800<sup>91</sup>. The *African Court Calendar* records a C. Hoffmann, tallow chandler, as living in Cape Town from 1810 to 1826, who may or may not be related to his British namesake<sup>92</sup>.



Fig. 68. Seal on an English wine bottle, "I.C. Hoffmann", dated to ca 1800.

Four wine bottles, known as 'Constantia wine bottles' were found at York

<sup>89</sup> Abrahams, 1987, op cit.

<sup>90</sup> Glenda Cox, pers. comm.

<sup>91</sup> Dumbrell, op cit. Appendix, p 272. The I.C. Hoffmann mentioned there seemed to have lived in England.



Redoubt as well. The most common type dates to between 1770 and 1820 and "...consisted of a long, distinctly spindle-shaped neck, sometimes with stretch marks, a cylindrical body... and a flat band-like string-rim of the Continental type..."<sup>93</sup> (Fig. 67, above, left). Constantia wines improved considerably in quality after the British occupation of 1795 and were exported to St Helena and Europe throughout the period under discussion.

The only 20<sup>th</sup> century bottle fragment in the collection is clear and embossed. It is a milk bottle.

Apart from wine and spirit bottles, cylindrical, square and slightly oval shaped vessels in different sizes were found at York Redoubt. These contained commercially available food and drink, such as carbonated mineral water, relishes, condiments and sauces, medicine and household cleaning agents. The nine aqua-coloured mineral water bottles were all manufactured from a three-piece mould. Fragments of a brown glass vessel of uncertain date may have contained a condiment, seasoning or relish.

Five small (less than 100 cm<sup>3</sup>) clear bottles - probably medicine bottles - were found. Two of these have uneven, flanged lips, projecting horizontally outward. They were common on medicine vials in use for much of the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. Whether medical attention was given to the 'rank and file' at York Redoubt during the British occupation or these medicine bottles were left by visitors to the site could not be established. Two clear, flat bottle fragments were excavated: one has been embossed with the word '...CHEMIST...', the other with '...BERTS & CO CHEMISTS... FLORENCE & ROME...'. Both are pharmaceutical bottles and date to the 19<sup>th</sup> century. A selection of food and medicine containers found in the York Redoubt artefactual assemblage is shown in Figure 69.

<sup>92</sup> *The African Court Calendar, 1810 to 1836*. Cape Town: South African Library, reprint 1981.



Fig. 69. Aqua coloured bottles. Far left: sauce bottle. Top row from left: 'Codd' bottle, two food storage bottles, medicine bottle, bottom row: medicine bottles or related containers. All dated to the later 19<sup>th</sup> century.

#### 4.3.2.2 Tableware

This category includes wineglasses, tumblers, bowls, dessert or jelly glasses and handles of vessels. The 13 drinking glasses found at York Redoubt include five wineglasses and eight tumblers. One stem fragment in the collection is most probably part of a dessert or jelly glass, dating to 1700-1825 (Fig. 70, middle row, far right). One wine glass base has a 'basal knob' and a solid foot (Fig. 70, left). This glass may have been an Anglo-Irish goblet ca 1770's. "Typical of th[is] form is a swelling step at the base of the stem"<sup>94</sup>. One stem is decorated with three collars below the bowl, bladed and with an angular knob (Fig. 70, second and third from left, bottom row). The remainder of the glass stems are plain, contain no balusters, cotton twists or facets and probably date to the late 18<sup>th</sup> century. These plain stems were influenced by

<sup>93</sup> Abrahams, 1987, op cit. p 13.

<sup>94</sup> Jones *et al*, 1985, op cit. pp 141-142.

the Glass Excise Acts of 1745 and 1777, which caused glasses to become smaller and lighter. Glass was taxed by weight<sup>95</sup>. The plain stemmed glasses could have been meant for use in 'the field' as opposed to fashionable, expensive wine glasses, reserved for the officers' mess table.



Fig. 70. Wine glasses from York Redoubt, dated to pre-1830's.

Tumblers could have served as wine, spirit or beer glasses during the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century<sup>96</sup>. One of the eight tumbler bases found at York Redoubt has a pontil scar, which dates it to before 1830, when polishing-off of the pontil scar began<sup>97</sup>. This would then be the only tumbler dated to the redoubt's occupation period. The other seven tumblers date to the remainder of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>95</sup> Mehlmán, F. 1982. *The Illustrated Guide to Glass*. Oxford: Peerage Books, p 69 and p 121.

<sup>96</sup> Baart, JM, Krook, W. & Lagerweij, AC. 1986. *Opgravingen aan die Oostenburgermiddenstraat*. Utrecht: Matrijs, p 149.

<sup>97</sup> Philpot, R. 1984. Glass Report. In: Barker, D. & B. *A Late Eighteenth Century Pitgroup from*





Fig. 71. Tumblers from York Redoubt. Top right: base with pontil scar, dated to pre-1830.

Two opaque white glass fragments (popularly known as milk glass) have been found in two different layers. This glass was used for both tableware and commercial containers. 'Milky' glass was used from the 16<sup>th</sup> century onwards, but became only affordable and popular in the 19<sup>th</sup> century<sup>98</sup>.

#### 4.3.2.3 Closures

No closures, such as stoppers, lids or covers were found or could be identified as such at York Redoubt.

#### 4.3.2.4 Flat glass

About 29 fragments, 2-20 mm diameter, of flat glass was retrieved. None of them could be classified as either window or plate glass.

*Haregate Hall, Leek, Staffordshire. Staffordshire Archaeological Studies No. 1, p 91.*

<sup>98</sup> Jones *et al.* op cit. p 14.

#### 4.3.2.5 Lighting devices

This term is used for glass items associated with illumination, such as lamps, lamp chimneys, candlesticks etc.<sup>99</sup>. The presence of one chandelier teardrop is puzzling (Fig. 69 above, bottom right). It seems to date to the late 18<sup>th</sup> or early 19<sup>th</sup> century<sup>100</sup>. It is doubtful that the guardhouse at York Redoubt was equipped with a chandelier. Maybe one of the soldiers or someone visiting the site had introduced the teardrop to the assemblage for some unknown reason.

#### 4.3.2.6 Conclusion

The majority of the glass vessels, excavated – 63% - can be dated to the late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. The wine and case bottles certainly fall into this period before moulds were introduced in large-scale mass production of glassware. A small number of three-piece moulded vessels were also present, seven out of 47 wine and spirit bottles. They date to the early use of the technique around 1811 and have no base markings<sup>101</sup>. Only four out of the 47 bottles are of Continental origin, the rest are English. 59% of the total vessel count consists of beverage bottles. Adding to that the stoneware ginger beer / beer bottles, one would be inclined to assume that the consumption of alcoholic beverages was a cherished past-time at the site. Drinking glasses were the only tableware items present. It should be noted that almost all the wine glasses date to pre-1830, whereas only one out of eight tumblers date to within the occupation period of York Redoubt. It seems likely that the wineglasses were part of the elegant table setting, when the men at the redoubt entertained. Seven tumblers, the food/condiment bottles and the medicine bottles, as well as the pharmaceutical / household cleaning agent bottles were introduced to the site after it was abandoned.

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<sup>99</sup> Jones *et al*, *op cit*. p 9.

<sup>100</sup> The Connoisseur, June 1968, Vol 168, No 676. London: National Magazine Company LTD, p 21. This type of cutglass, dangles and ormolos, used also for candelabras are dated to ca 1800.

<sup>101</sup> Dumbrell, *op cit*, p 115.



A form and function table and a pie chart of the glassware categories is shown in Table 8.

	No of fragment	MNV	% MNV
<b>Food storage</b>			
Case/gin bottles	43	11	11%
Wine / beer bottles	63	44	45%
Mineral water bottles	14	3	3%
Sauces, condiment, relishes	16	7	7%
unidentified	20		
<b>Food consumption</b>			
Wine glasses	8	5	5%
Tumblers	9	8	8%
Dessert/jelly glasses	1	1	1%
unidentified	12		
<b>Health/Hygiene</b>			
Medicine bottles	31	10	10%
Pharmaceutical bottles	24	4	4%
Household cleaning	15	3	3%
unidentified	17		
<b>Flat glass</b>	29		
<b>Lighting</b>	1	1	1%
<b>Total</b>	303	97	100%

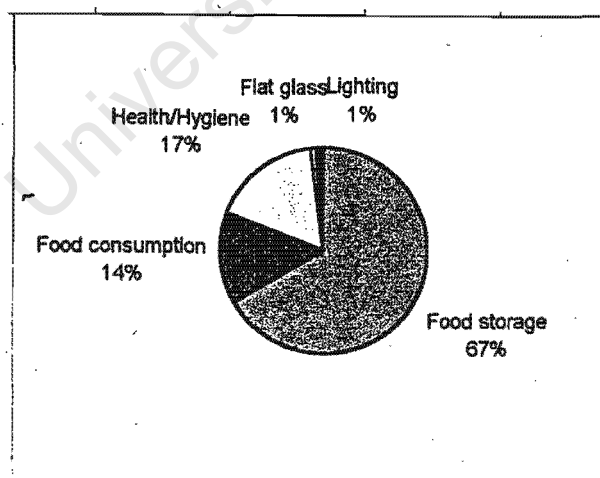


Table 8. Form and function table, MNV and %ge MNV count for the York Redoubt glass assemblage. Pie chart illustrating the main categories of glassware. Note: these figures are approximated.

### 4.3.3 THE YORK REDOUBT GUN FLINTS AND STONE TOOLS

Surprisingly few gunflints - that is for a military site - were excavated at York Redoubt. They were found in several squares and layers. From square H27 (see Fig. 13, p 52) we retrieved one honey coloured, Dutch or French gunflint, which had been well used, probably in a pistol (Fig. 72/3)<sup>102</sup>. There is evidence of strike-marks on this specimen. A British grey flint core, from which flakes had been struck<sup>103</sup>, and a half an English round-backed wedge, or prism-shaped gunflint are also present (Fig. 72/4).<sup>104</sup>

Square J26 yielded a spall pistol gunflint or strike-alight for a tinderbox. Similar spall gunflints were retrieved from the *Colebrook*, a British military supply ship on the way to India, which sunk in 1778 in Gordon's Bay<sup>105</sup>. There was also a piece of triangular gunflint (Fig. 72/1), and a flint core (Fig. 72/2). Square J29 contained a light grey core with cortex, not from England, but of Continental origin<sup>106</sup>. The three worked nodules or flint cores from square K26 are similar to the nodules retrieved from the *Brunswick*, a British East Indiaman sunk in 1805 in Simon's Bay<sup>107</sup>. The K27 fragment is probably a stone tool. The gunflints are listed in Table 9 below.

SQUARE	GUNFLINT	SPALL FLINT	STONE TOOL	CORE	Minimum Number of Items
H27	2			1	3
J26	1	1		1	3
J29				1	1
K26				3	3
K27			1?		1
TOTAL	3	1	1	6	11
Percentage	27%	9%	9%	55%	

Table 9. Gunflints and stonetools from York Redoubt.

<sup>102</sup> Hamilton, TM, and Emery, KO. 1988. *Eighteenth-Century Gunflints from Fort Michilimackinac and other Colonial Sites*. Archaeological Completion Report Series. Number 13, Mackinac Island State Park Commission, p 159.

<sup>103</sup> Shepherd, W. 1972. *Flint, its Origins, Properties and Uses*. London: Faber and Faber, p 151.

<sup>104</sup> Hamilton *et al*, op cit. p 56.

<sup>105</sup> Jaco Boshoff, maritime archaeologist, SA Maritime Museum, pers. comm. Drawing from accession number AR/85/1/8, SA Cultural History Museum.

<sup>106</sup> Mr Cedric Poggenpoel, pers. comm.

<sup>107</sup> Jaco Boshoff, pers. comm.

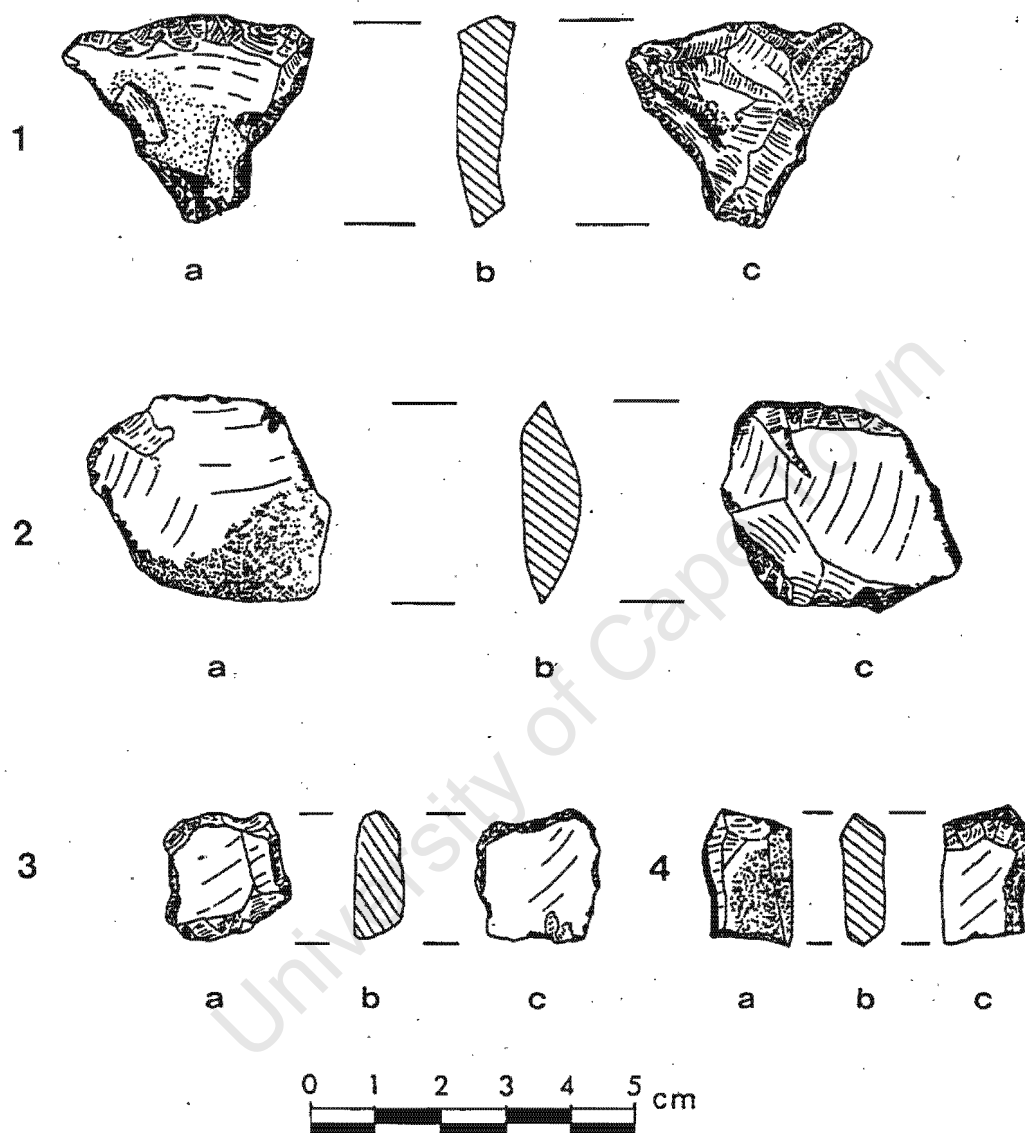


Fig. 71. Gunflints from York Redoubt. (1) Triangular gunflint, not British, undated. (2) Flintcore. (3) Honey coloured Dutch or French gunflint, dated to the late 18<sup>th</sup> century. (4) Half of an English round-backed, prism-shaped gunflint.

The lithic component of the York Redoubt collection of portable artefacts is surprisingly small, and so is the number of artefacts – 11 - to be statistically meaningful. Considering that we are dealing with a military site, one would have expected to find a great many more used flints chips and chunks. On the other hand, flint fragments were valuable commodities used by the soldiers to be bartered. This would also have included the flintcores, from which they were struck, which make up 55% of the collection. Both were suitable for strike-alights, which were a huge improvement on cumbersome traditional methods of lighting a fire.

The stonetools, some 9% of the collection, could have been evidence for earlier visits of, or contact with indigenous people of the Western Cape. Their description and provenance falls beyond the scope of this thesis.

#### **4.3.4 METAL AND MISCELLENOUS ARTEFACTS**

The materials in this section have been combined and grouped together according to broad functional categories due to overlapping functions of the various material types. For instance, grouping the buttons together saved needless repetition as a separate category within each material type. The same might be said for personal effects, uniform parts and building material. Included in the miscellaneous group are small unidentified metal fragments and 20<sup>th</sup> century artefacts.

##### **4.3.4.1 Weaponry: Rifle parts, cartridges and shot**

Until about 1840 the British Army was supplied with muzzle loading, smooth bore guns, which were fired using flintlocks. The ammunition for these guns was either shot, cast from lead or iron or paper package cartridges. These cartridges would not have left any archaeological traces. In about 1840 the British Army started supplying Enfield muskets. The muzzles of these were

rifled and used metal and paper cartridges. Percussion guns came to South Africa in about 1850 and were phased out by 1860 entirely. These came with a rim-fired cartridge, made entirely of metal. By the mid-1850's the percussion cap was placed in the centre of the cartridge base, producing the centre – fired cartridge, which was used exclusively from then on<sup>108</sup>. The Snider breach-loading rifle, converted from a muzzleloader, was approved for service in the British Army in 1866<sup>109</sup>. To go with this design, a cartridge with a body of wrapped sheet brass and a rimmed brass base was designed, carrying a .577 bullet with a centre-percussion cap. The British Army adopted the Martini-Henry rifle, which also uses a .577 cartridge, with a breach-loading mechanism, in 1871<sup>110</sup>. The York Redoubt collection of firearm parts, cartridges and bullets is listed in Table 10<sup>111</sup>.

1 fragment of a brass ramrod hold, part of a brass trigger guard from an Enfield or Snider rifle, dating therefore to before 1840,
1 large, centre percussion, Snider rifle, .577 calibre cartridge, rifling marks still visible, dated to after 1872, when it was introduced into South Africa,
1 cartridge, centre percussion, .450 calibre cartridge, marked ELEY London, revolver, dated to 1880 – 1945.
2 .32 calibre rim fire cartridges, ca 1840-1850, small firearm calibre,
2 lead bullets, standard issue for the army, when York Redoubt was commissioned,
1 smaller lead bullet for a pistol,
1 iron canister or grape shot,
1 24-pounder iron cannon ball.

Table 10. Rifle parts, shot and cartridges found at York Redoubt.

The amount of lead shot and lead waste left behind, about 400g, is rather startling, because lead was a valuable commodity. Two lead bullets, 17 mm in diameter, fitted a muzzle-loading gun before 1840, i.e. probably from the time of the redoubt's occupation. The soldiers would have poured their own shot in a standardised mould. One lead bullet with Martini Henry rifling marks is shown in Fig. 73. This bullet had hit a hard surface; therefore it was shot into the site.

<sup>108</sup> Hogg, Ian V. 1992. *The Encyclopedia of Weaponry*. New Jersey: Wellfleet Press, p 71.

<sup>109</sup> Hogg, op cit. p 85.

<sup>110</sup> Hogg, op cit. p 87.

<sup>111</sup> I am indebted to the late Mr Barry Berkovitch, Editor of the *Journal of the Historical*





Fig. 73. Lead shot, Martini Henry rifle markings third fragment from right, middle row.

Martini Henry Rifles were used frequently for hunting<sup>112</sup>. Squares K25, K26 and K27 (Fig. 13, p 52) contained the highest concentration of arms and ammunition fragments. One iron canister - also known as grapeshot - for a 30mm diameter gun was also found (Fig. 74). Canister shot was bundled into grape shot holders and fired by small guns, a typical anti personnel weapon. The 24-pounder cannon ball is associated with the guns stationed at the redoubt.

The arms and ammunition, except the lead shot, cannon ball, canister shot and the ramrod holder, date to after the redoubt was abandoned and were left behind by casual hunters and visitors. This was found to be the case on other

*Firearms Society of South Africa.*

<sup>112</sup> Dreyer, J. 1994. Cartridges and Chronology: an Exercise in Relative Dating. *Southern*

excavated military sites in the Cape Peninsula: the Hout Bay Forts, Rondebosch Common and Centre Redoubt in Trafalgar Park, Woodstock.



Fig. 74. Top, from left: Two cartridges, .32 calibre rim fired, .450 cartridge, ELEY, centre percussion, .577 Snider cartridge. Bottom, from left: brass trigger guard, ramrod hold, iron canister or grapeshot.

#### 4.3.4.2 Uniform parts and personal belongings.

The uniform parts and personal belongings of those living and visiting York Redoubt were varied and interesting. It was not always possible to associate specific items with the period of occupation. Again, I have combined the finds from all squares and layers. Tables 11 to 14 group the artefacts manufactured from metal, bone, slate and feathers into discreet categories according to their possible function and value they were accorded by the owner.



11 boot eyelets, 15 mm diameter, probably military boots,
3 blakeys for large size boots, (a blakey is similar to a horseshoe, fitted onto boot heels),
26 shoe lace grommets, 5-6 mm diameter,

Table 11. Remains of footwear.

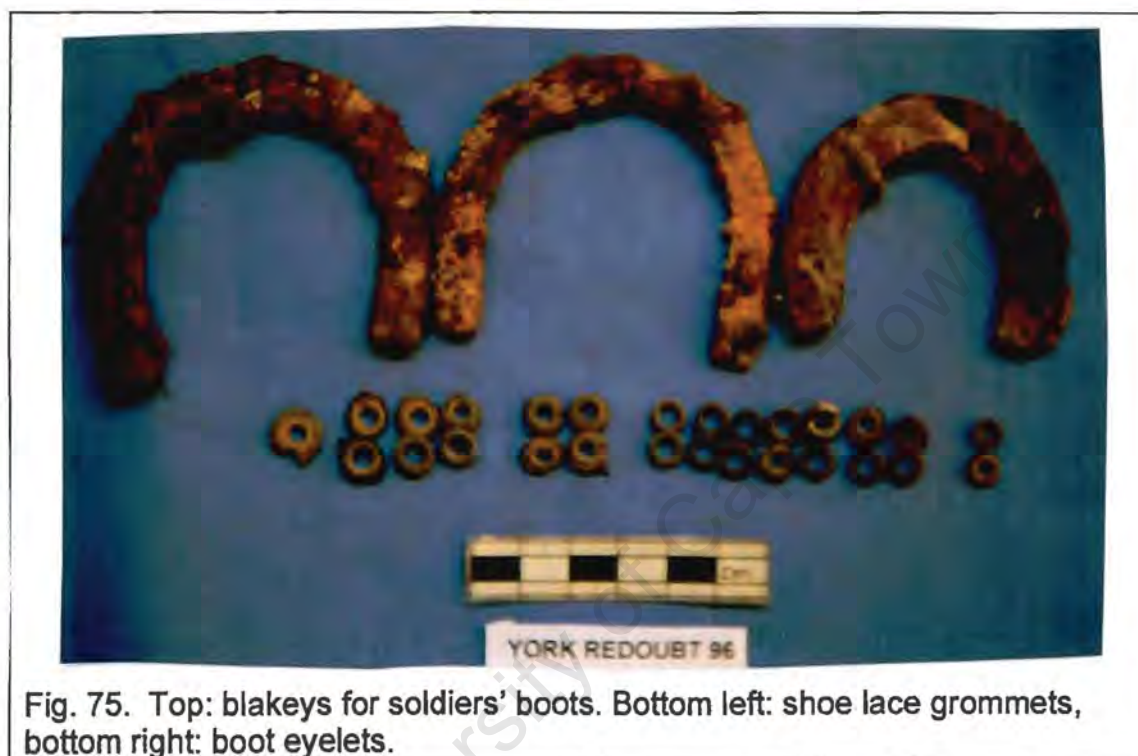


Fig. 75. Top: blakeys for soldiers' boots. Bottom left: shoe lace grommets, bottom right: boot eyelets.

2 British thimbles, one with a steel top, now rusted, date to the late 18 <sup>th</sup> century <sup>113</sup> , the second a fragment of an 18 <sup>th</sup> / 19 <sup>th</sup> century mass produced thimble. The thimbles were made from an alloy of zinc and copper, called 'pinchbeck',
1 pair of large steel scissors (170 mm long), similar to the ones found on the English East India military supply ship, the <i>Colebrook</i> , sunk in 1788 on the outward voyage <sup>114</sup> ,
3 smaller pairs of steel scissors (110 mm long), ditto,
2 slate pencils,
1 fragment of a quill,

Table 12. Military issue.

<sup>113</sup> Bailey, Gordon. 1993. *Detector Finds 2, Guide to Dating and Identifying Artefacts*. Great Britain: Greenlight Publishing, p 14.

<sup>114</sup> Mr Jaco Boshoff, Maritime Museum, Cape Town, pers. comm.

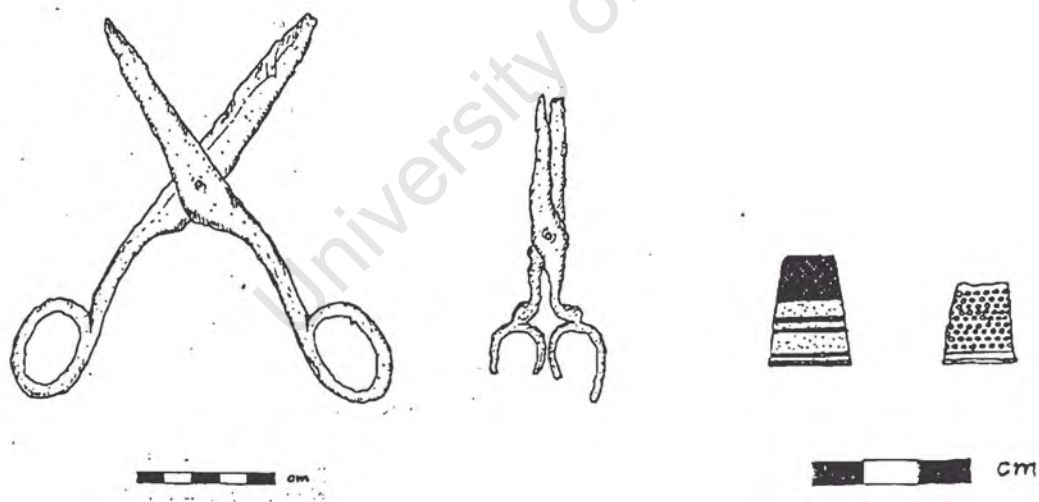


Fig. 76. Military issue and personal items. Top row: belt plates. Middle row, from left: 2 watchkeys, slate pencil, quill fragment, military issue thimbles. Bottom row, from left: 'love token', Bakelite® pipestem, and keyhole plate for a chest. Drawings: Two sizes of scissors and two kinds of thimbles issued by the military.





Fig. 77. Uniform parts. Top: gold braids. Bottom: tassel holder and bone crest  
 Clasps and fastenings. Left and lower row: military issue. Top and  
 centre: lady's handbag clasps. Undated.



1 hook and clasp for a tunic or vest,
1 civilian buckle, embossed with the maker's mark PRISMA, brass colour, mass produced, could date to the 20 <sup>th</sup> century, looks similar to an 18 <sup>th</sup> century buckle serving for both gaiters and/or breeches <sup>115</sup> ,
4 military iron buckles, greater than 300 mm wide <sup>116</sup> ,
1 copper alloy buckle,
1 bone crest, probably regimental, to be worn on the collar or shako,
Officer's epaulette fragment of a gold-laced regiment, such as the 32 <sup>nd</sup> Light Infantry in 1802 <sup>117</sup> , and a few strands of loose gold braid.
1 finely woven gold 'lace fragment', designed according to regimental orders. This was worn by sergeant majors of the Light Infantry on scarlet jackets <sup>118</sup> ,
1 round silver alloy tube, ca 10mm diameter and 20mm length, oriental engravings, possible from a tassel attached to an officer's shako <sup>119</sup> , which was introduced around 1800.
1 scabbard fragment of leather, part of uniform clip or insignia <sup>120</sup>
1 belt end,
1 copper alloy belt holder,
3 metal hooks with leather fragment attached, thin, narrow straps,
2 military clasps, copper alloy with 3 holes, probably for pouches,
1 military clasp, copper alloy, with 2 holes and broken end <sup>121</sup> ,
1 half brass button back, mass manufactured,

Table 13. Uniform parts excavated at York Redoubt.

Table 14 lists the personal belongings of the rank and file i.e. items that were not routinely issued by the military. The lady's handbag clasps were brought in and discarded with other debris after 1830, although female visitors might have been accommodated earlier. The pocketwatch fragments could not be dated with any certainty. During the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century pocketwatches were only affordable by the higher ranks of the military and society. The Jew's harp is included in this list because it was a personal item, used for leisure activities. A Jew's harp was also excavated from the Central Redoubt in Trafalgar Park in Woodstock in the layer associated with the first quarter of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, i.e. when the British military occupied that redoubt<sup>122</sup>.

<sup>115</sup> Bailey, Gordon. 1997. *Detector Finds, Guide to Dating and Identifying Artefacts*. Great Britain: Greenlight Publishing, pp 90-91.

<sup>116</sup> Barry Berkovitch, pers. comm.

<sup>117</sup> Fosten, DSV & BK, 1995 (6<sup>th</sup> impression). *The Thin Red Line, Uniforms of the British Army between 1751 and 1914*. London: Windrow & Greene, p 21, plate IV.

<sup>118</sup> Fosten et al, op cit. p 27.

<sup>119</sup> Fosten et al, op cit. p 21, plate IV.

<sup>120</sup> Barry Berkovitch, pers. comm.

<sup>121</sup> Bailey, Gordon. 1995. *Detector Finds*. Revised 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, Great Britain: Greenlight

1 lady's handbag clasp, 70 mm wide, brass, Victorian, one smaller handbag clasp,
2 pocket watch keys, base metal,
1 Half Penny, bent in half, dated 1890, a so-called 'love-token' <sup>123</sup> ,
2 wine bottle lead toppings,
2 lady's brooch clasps,
the letter T, from a lead type-set,
1 copper keyhole escusion plate, it used to have steel pins, probably of Indian design
1 bone pipe for smoking indigenous weed, i.e. <i>dagga</i> , (genus <i>Cannabis</i> ),
bone buttons and templates,
1 domino set piece, carved from bone,
1 Jew's harp

Table 14. Personal belongings, some dating to the period after 1830.

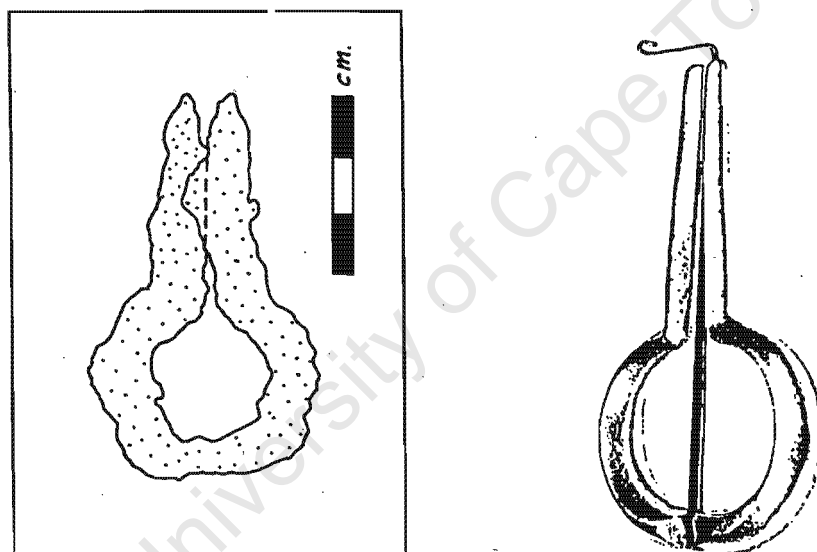


Fig. 78. Drawing of the Jew's harp excavated at York Redoubt, possibly belonging to one of the soldiers stationed there. (Picture reference: *The New Encyclopaedia Britannica*. EB Inc. 15<sup>th</sup> Edition, Vol. 6, 1986, p 547.

Other small finds connected to the military personnel at York Redoubt will be described in the following pages. In chapter 5 their role in the overall context of 'making the Cape British' will be elaborated on.

<sup>122</sup> Seemann, Ute A. 1999. Report on the Excavation at the Central Redoubt, Trafalgar Park Woodstock. South African Heritage and Resource Agency (SAHRA), formerly National Monuments Council, Western Cape Branch, Cape Town.

#### 4.3.4.3 Buttons

Buttons warrant a separate sub-heading because of their specialised function and use; i.e. they were used both as practical fasteners for clothing items and for display. Buttons were found in all layers and squares and are associated mostly with military dress; i.e. regimental dress buttons for officers and other rank, trouser fly buttons and shirt buttons. Buttons are good indicators for relative dating purposes, but in the case of the York Redoubt stratigraphy it was not possible to date the layers by association. Regimental buttons can be dated using the records of particular regiments stationed at the Cape. Button manufacture dates can be ascertained, based on the material type and button form, description of the manufacturer's mark, if any, and context.

Four well-represented categories of buttons were retrieved. These categories are based, firstly on material (metal, bone, nacre and glass), and secondly on use / function. As expected, the largest category comprised metal buttons.

#### Metal buttons

##### ◆ Regimental buttons

The collection contains four fragments of a much-rusted flat button of the 49<sup>th</sup> (Hertfordshire) Regiment of Foot (Fig. 79). The buttons were made of pewter, therefore not worn by officers, but by other ranks<sup>124</sup> from 1816 to 1855<sup>125</sup>. The 49<sup>th</sup> Regiment was stationed in the Cape in 1816-1817. In January 1817 it took part in the battle of Queenstown, for which it received battle honours<sup>126</sup>. The officers' button was a flat, single gilded piece, with the design of '49' within a crowned circle inscribed 'P. Charlotte of Wales' within a Union wreath

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<sup>123</sup> Bailey, Gordon. 1995. *Detective Finds: Buttons*. England: Greenlight Publishing House 1995, p 46. A love-token was given to the prospective bride by a young man, declaring his intentions. If the woman kept the coin, the pair considered themselves betrothed.

<sup>124</sup> Meredith, Alan and Gillian. 1997. *Identifying Buttons*. Chelmsford, England: Mount Publications, pp 9-10.

<sup>125</sup> Meredith, op cit. p. 10.

<sup>126</sup> Parkyn, Major HG. 1956. *Shoulder -Belt Plates and Buttons*. Aldershot: Gale & Polden Limited at the Wellington Press, p 236 and p 239.

of single blossoms<sup>127</sup>, which in one button fragment is just barely visible. One regimental button of the 38<sup>th</sup> (1<sup>st</sup> Staffordshire) Regiment of Foot is also present. This button is convex, therefore introduced after 1800. The Staffordshire knot and crown surmount the number 38. It was made of pewter and is very rusted. The back is inscribed with the maker's name 'FIRMIN ? SONS, STRAND'. This mark would date the button to about 1822 to 1839, when Firmin & Sons operated from 153 Strand Street and White Horse Yard, London<sup>128</sup>. The 38<sup>th</sup> Regiment was stationed at the Cape from 1806 to 1807, transferred back to England to participate in the "Peninsula War", 1809-1814, and returned in 1818 to garrison Simon's Town and Grahamstown. It finally left in 1822<sup>129</sup> (Fig. 79).

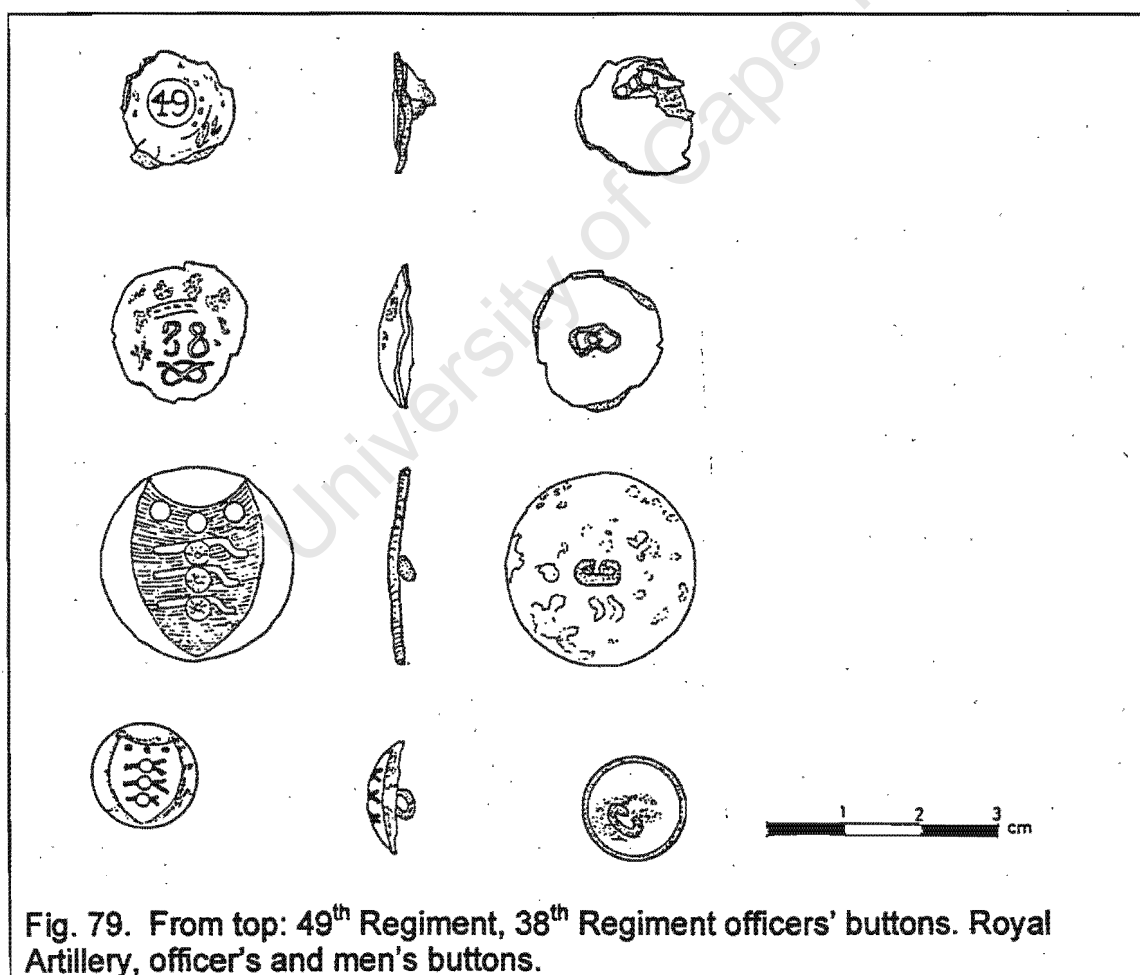


Fig. 79. From top: 49<sup>th</sup> Regiment, 38<sup>th</sup> Regiment officers' buttons. Royal Artillery, officer's and men's buttons.

<sup>127</sup> Parkyn, op cit. p 238.

<sup>128</sup> Bailey, 1995, op cit. p 24.

The buttons of the corps and support services are also represented. One oval shaped Royal Artillery brass button, an unusual find in this context, was worn on a dress uniform<sup>130</sup>. Smaller versions, of which we have one example, backed by the maker's name 'I McGowan London,' is also present (Fig. 79 above). McGowan supplied buttons to the army from 1810 onwards<sup>131</sup>. The other ranks wore half-globular buttons until 1924<sup>132</sup>.

Two large and one small brass staff officers' uniform buttons are representative of the Royal Engineers<sup>133</sup>. The backmark on the buttons reads: Smith & Wright, Limited, Birmingham. The crown in the crest is the Queen's crown, i.e. Queen Victoria. These buttons were worn from 1871 to 1901, when the Queen's crown was exchanged for the King's crown<sup>134</sup>. (Fig. 80).

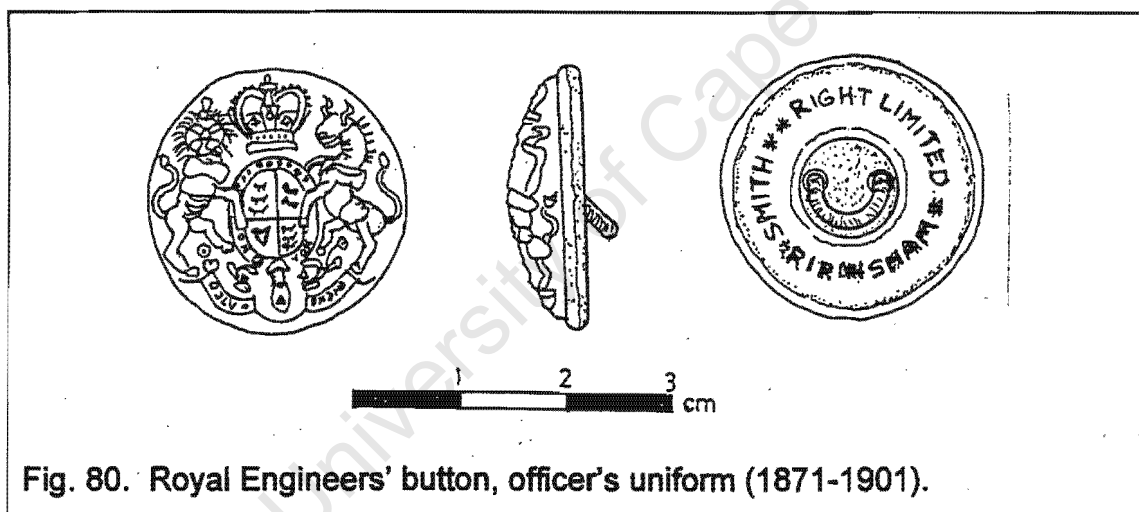


Fig. 80. Royal Engineers' button, officer's uniform (1871-1901).

#### ◆ Blazer buttons

Nine plain flat blazer buttons of various sizes and one gilded blazer button were found. They were manufactured from pewter, brass and copper alloy. One button was electroplated and marked 'ARMFIELD PLATED'. The firm of Edward Armfield [& Co], Birmingham was a large manufacturer and supplier

<sup>129</sup> Brinton, op cit. p 38.

<sup>130</sup> Mr WF Pace, pers. comm.

<sup>131</sup> Bailey, 1995, op cit. p 26.

<sup>132</sup> Parkyn, op cit, pp 54-59.

<sup>133</sup> Parkyn, op cit. 58.

<sup>134</sup> Meredith, op cit. p. 14.



to the British Army from 1790 to 1940. Electroplating became standard only during the latter part of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The button can therefore post-date 1891<sup>135</sup> (Fig. 81).

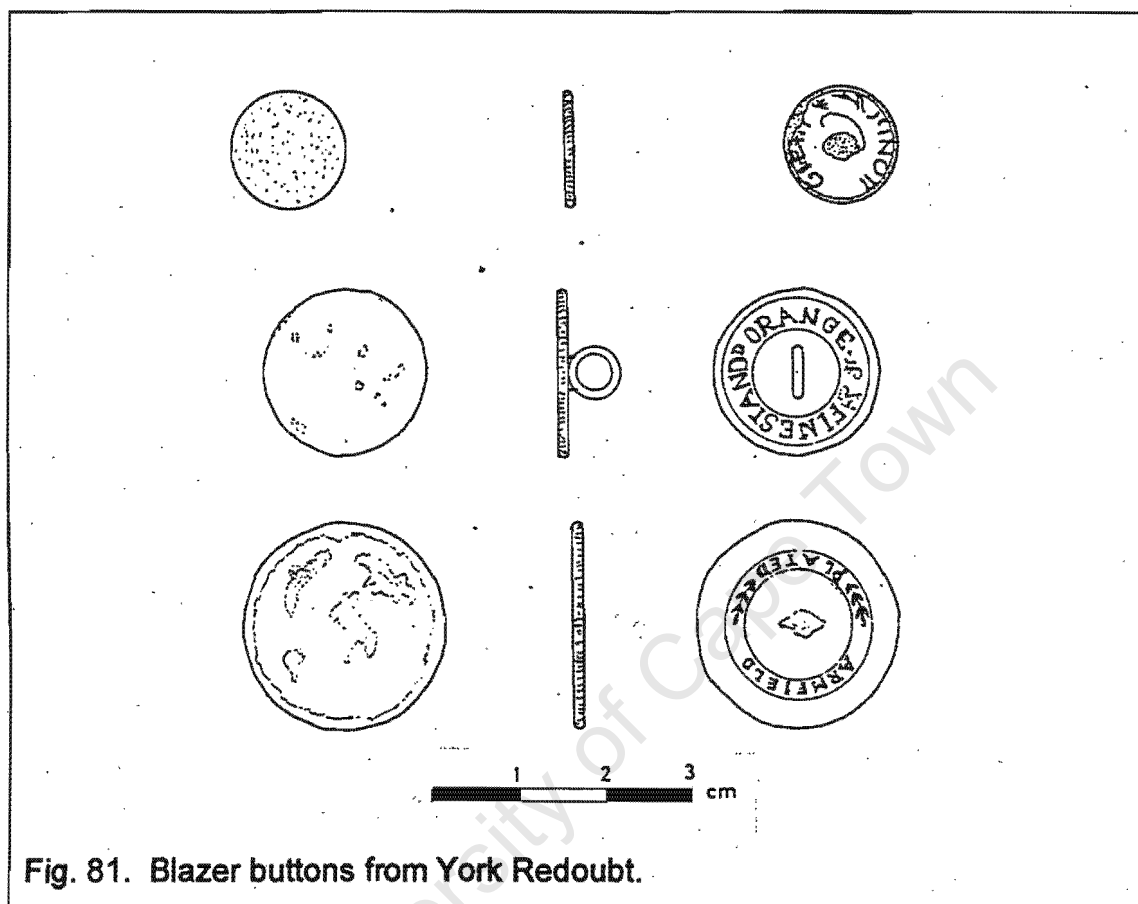


Fig. 81. Blazer buttons from York Redoubt.

#### ♦ Suspender / fly and brace buttons

Military trouser fly and/or brace buttons are the most numerous in the York Redoubt collection, 29 in all. They come in two sizes: 16-17 mm diameter and 13 mm diameter, with four buttonholes. The buttons were made from a copper alloy and/or gilded. One gilded iron button with two buttonholes was unidentifiable.

Ten buttons of the larger size had the word 'SUSPENDER' engraved on the rim, two the words 'BEST SOLID EDGE' (Fig. 82). These buttons seem to have been standard issue for the Army. Four buttons of size 16-17 mm

<sup>135</sup> Bailey, 1995. op cit, p 24.

diameter had either the supplier or, as was the custom, the tailor's name and address engraved on the rim. This would imply that officers and 'men of means' had their uniforms or civilian trousers tailor-made, which would certainly have added to their prestige and standing, advertising class distinction. The tailors' names were G. WADDEN, POULTRY. E.O.G. WHITE, WIMBLEDON and J. SHAPE & SONS, WINDSOR. JOHN SCOTT, 10 CHURCH STREET, CAPE TOWN, was the only local supplier of the larger size suspender buttons.

Of the 13 mm diameter copper alloy trouser fly buttons, we found four trouser fly buttons marked G. WHITE, WIMBLEDON and one marked W. R. BURN, TAILOR, PARIS. Local tailors or merchants were represented by one button marked G.E.O. BENNETT, CAPE TOWN. George Bennett was listed in the *African Court Calendar* as a merchant from 1809 to 1820 at various addresses in Cape Town<sup>136</sup>. He moved frequently, from 'good' addresses to lodgings in a low class district until he finally disappears from the register. Three buttons are attributed to BRUCE & Co, CAPE TOWN (not listed in the *African Court Calendar* between 1800 and 1829). These buttons are depicted in Figures 82 to 84. One recent American jeans button, manufactured from aluminium, and one fly button, marked with an unrecognisable name, complete this collection.

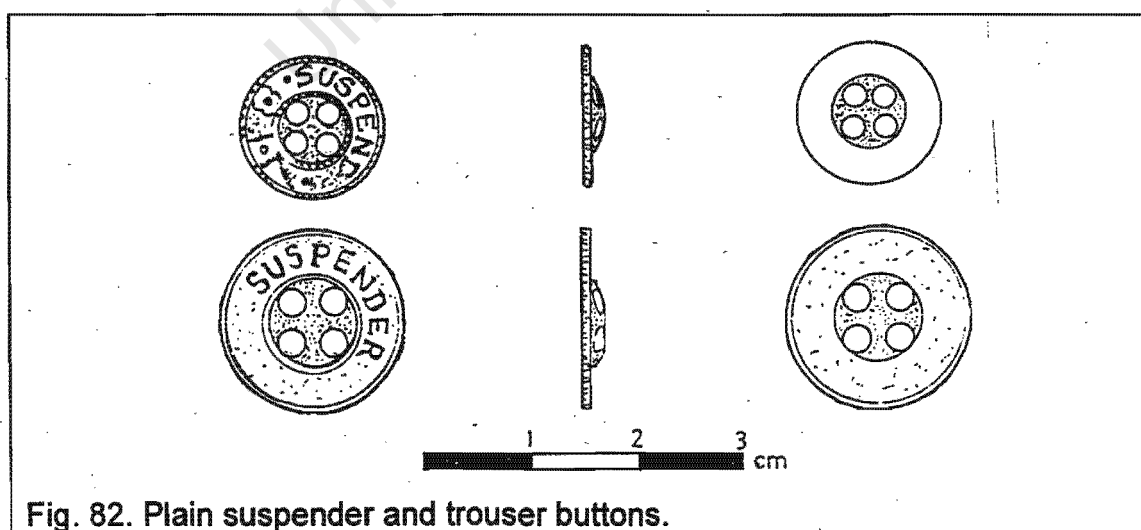


Fig. 82. Plain suspender and trouser buttons.

<sup>136</sup> The African Court Calendar for 1809-1820. Cape Town: South African Library, reprint 1981.



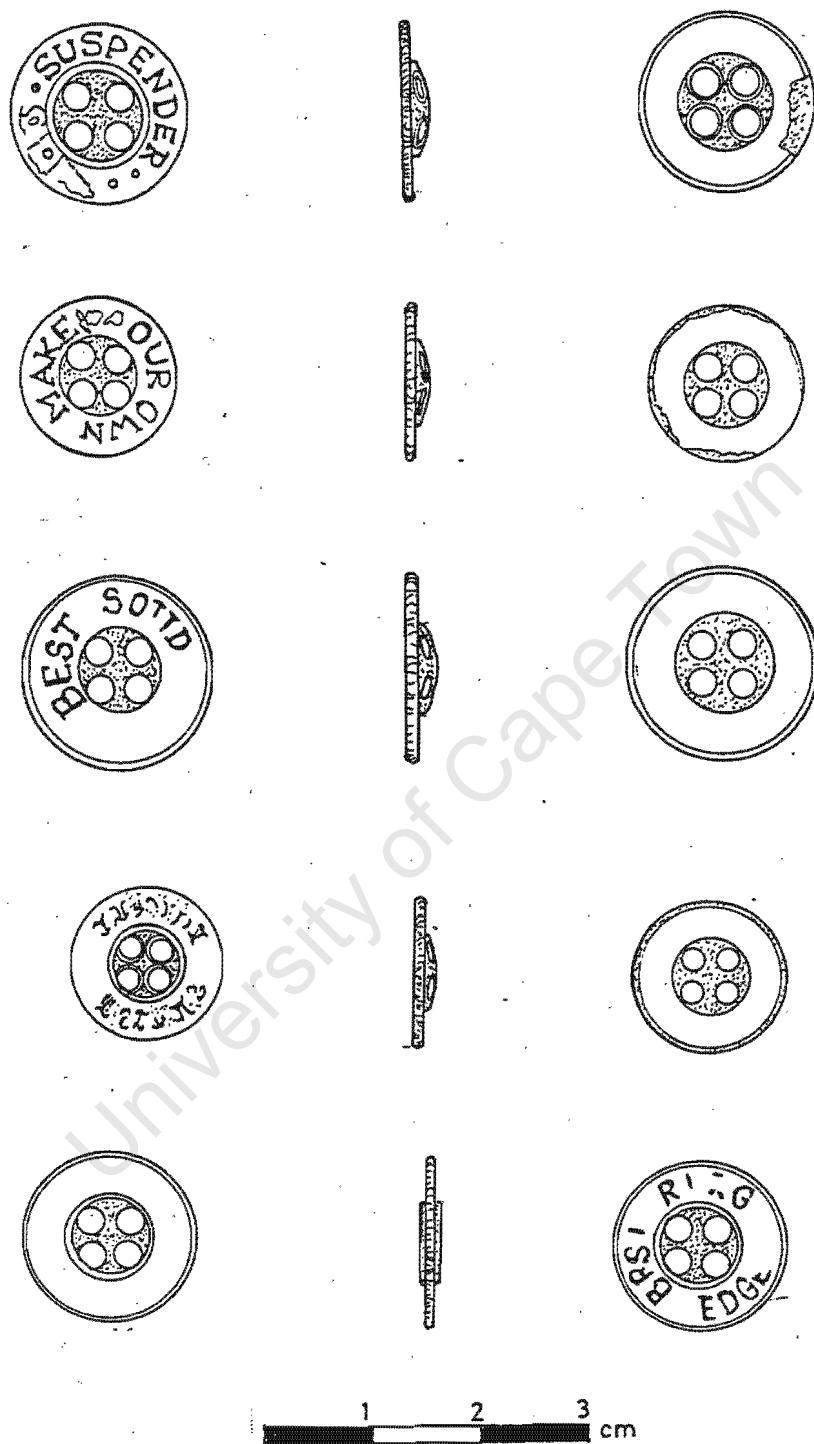


Fig. 84. More suspender / fly buttons.

#### ◆ Miscellaneous metal buttons

Two iron buttons suitable for a vest or jacket were found, each with four buttonholes. In one button the cotton thread was still in place, sewn on rather clumsily.

A hollow globular brass button (Fig. 85) with a separate shank part seems to be out of context. It was tentatively identified as belonging to the latter part of the 17<sup>th</sup> century<sup>137</sup>. Excavations at the slave lodge in Vergelegen and at a late iron age site in the Marico district produced similar hollow domed brass buttons with a removable shank. The Vergelegen deposit was dated to the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the Marico site to 180-200BP<sup>138</sup>. Dutch brass buttons from the shipwreck of the "Oosterland" (sunk in 1697) confirm that the buttons were imported by Dutch colonists, forming part of their clothing<sup>139</sup>. The buttons might subsequently have been bartered with and refashioned by indigenous people. If this is true, it is a rare find.

Six metal button fragments could not be identified.

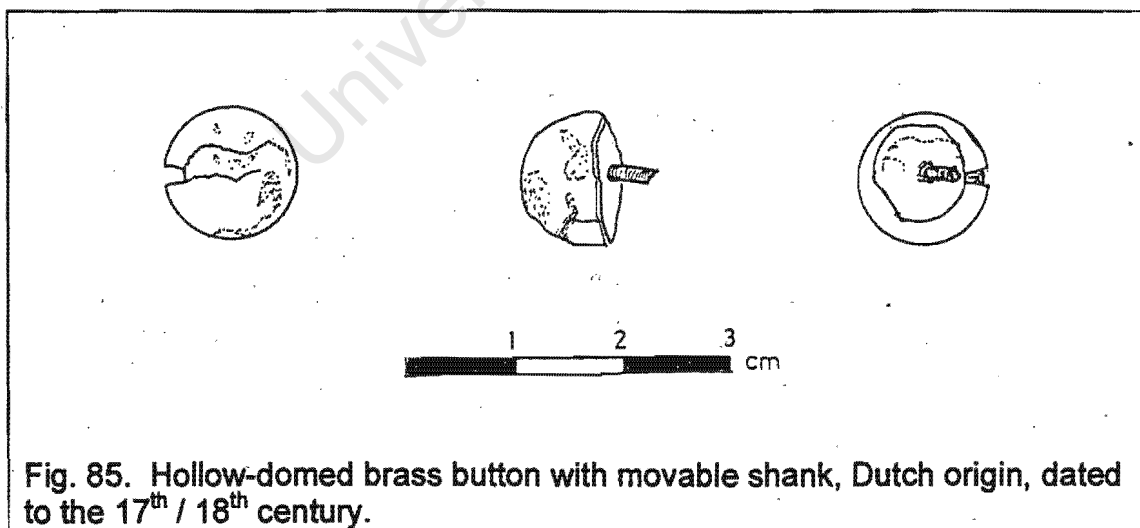


Fig. 85. Hollow-domed brass button with movable shank, Dutch origin, dated to the 17<sup>th</sup> / 18<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>137</sup> Meredith, op cit. p 8.

<sup>138</sup> Miller, D. & Markell, A. 1993. Dutch Brass Buttons from the Cape to the Marico. *Southern African Field Archaeology* 2:107-111.1993.

<sup>139</sup> Werz, Bruno EJS. 1994. Dutch Brass Buttons from the Shipwreck of the "Oosterland" (1697): A Response to Miller and Markell. *Southern African Field Archaeology* 3:48-50.1994.



### Bone buttons

Four bone buttons with four buttonholes and eight bone buttonbacks with a single hole were unearthed. Bone buttons were the mainstay of peasant and labourers clothing before 1875<sup>140</sup>. They were locally made from sheep and cattle bones. Each village had its button makers, who cut, turned and drilled to make simple buttons with one, two or four holes. The type of buttons we collected was used from the 18<sup>th</sup> to the 20<sup>th</sup> century<sup>141</sup>.

### Nacre buttons

We collected two dainty nacre buttons with four holes, three with two holes and a collarbutton. The latter was used to fasten a detachable starched linen or cotton collar to a man's shirt. Collar buttons were used well into the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Buttons made from mollusk shells, nacre, also called mother-of-pearl, were mass-produced in the Birmingham area from the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century<sup>142</sup>. Grey or 'smoked' pearl buttons were not popular before the 1850's. Our collection of dainty shirt buttons might therefore date to before that time. The shell used in button making was imported from the Indian Ocean and the Red Sea. Availability and price governed the type used at any particular time.

### Glass buttons

The black glass imitation-jet button with an embedded metal shank dates to the later nineteenth century. Facetted glass buttons, such as this were made by either hand-cutting sheet glass or from moulds, as is the case here<sup>143</sup>. The button would have belonged to a lady's dress (Fig. 86).

<sup>140</sup> Peacock, Primrose. 1978. *Discovering Old Buttons*. Great Britain: C.I. Thomas & Sons (Haverfordwest) Ltd, p. 56.

<sup>141</sup> Meredith, op cit. p 38.

<sup>142</sup> Peacock, op cit. p 62

<sup>143</sup> Peacock, op cit. p. 24

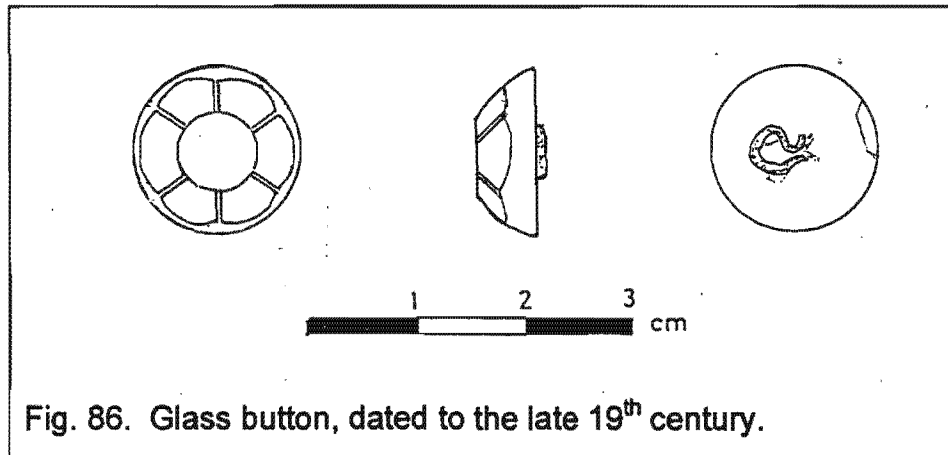


Fig. 86. Glass button, dated to the late 19<sup>th</sup> century.

An overview of the button collection plus the minimum number of individual (MNI) buttons is given in Table 15 below.

	dated to	MNI	%MNI
Metal buttons			
Regimental, large	19 <sup>th</sup> century	9	13.2%
Regimental, small	19 <sup>th</sup> century	1	1.5%
Blazer, large	19 <sup>th</sup> /20 <sup>th</sup> century	6	8.8%
Blazer, small	19 <sup>th</sup> /20 <sup>th</sup> century	3	4.4%
Suspender, large	19 <sup>th</sup> /20 <sup>th</sup> century	15	22.1%
Suspender, small	19 <sup>th</sup> /20 <sup>th</sup> century	14	20.6%
Dutch brass button	17 <sup>th</sup> /18 <sup>th</sup> century	1	1.5%
unidentified		9	13.2%
Subtotal			85.3%
Bone buttons	18 <sup>th</sup> /19 <sup>th</sup> century	5	7.4%
Nacre buttons	19 <sup>th</sup> century	4	5.9%
Glass buttons	19 <sup>th</sup> century	1	1.5%
TOTAL		68	100.0%

Table 15. The button collection from York Redoubt.

A total of 42.7% of the buttons collected are suspender/fly/brace buttons. That would make sense because these are one of the largest numbers of buttons on a garment, which all males would wear in the field. 14.7% of the identifiable regimental buttons date to the period when York Redoubt was occupied. It might be assumed that most of the plain bone buttons were used on soldiers' garments, nacre buttons on the shirts worn by higher-ranking men and women. Since military manoeuvres were held during the 19<sup>th</sup> century in the vicinity of York Redoubt, it is not surprising to find Royal

Artillery and Royal Engineers' buttons dated to the later 19<sup>th</sup> century. The remainder of the buttons could have been deposited or lost by visitors, picnickers and the soldiers' sweethearts.

#### 4.3.4.4 Cutlery, pocket knives and a tin mug handle.

The York Redoubt cutlery (Figs. 87-89) was manufactured from some kind of iron alloy. Parts of the iron handles of some knives, forks and pocket knives had disintegrated over time. Bone handles, which survived in the archaeological deposit, are listed under the sub-heading 'Faunal material from York Redoubt'. The cutlery is listed in Table 16 below.

1 long serving spoon. ca 230 mm long.
2 teaspoon handles. possibly lead or silver alloy
1 handle fragment of a ladle. 135 mm long. possibly used to pour lead for bullets.
1 iron ladle of some kind. probably half-pint measure. a hand held utensil <sup>144</sup> .
1 knife blade fragment. 230 mm long.
2 pocket knife handles.
3 table knives.
1 fragment of the 'Swiss pocket knife' type.
4 cake forks of identical design.
1 table fork
1 tin mug handle.

Table 16. Cutlery and tin mug handle.

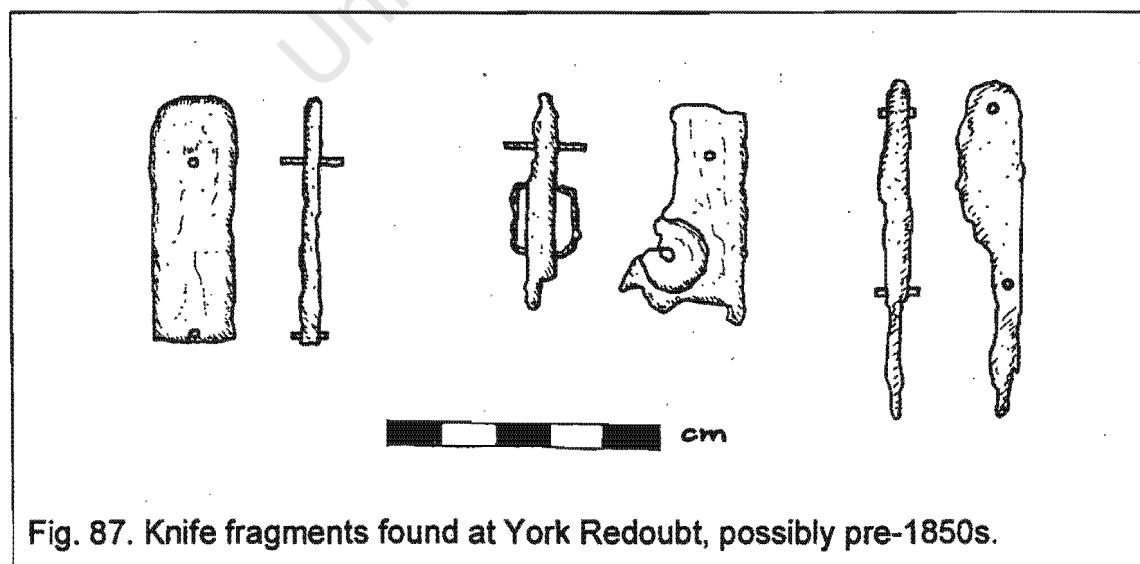


Fig. 87. Knife fragments found at York Redoubt, possibly pre-1850s.

<sup>144</sup> Mr WF Pace, expert on metal restoring, pers. comm.

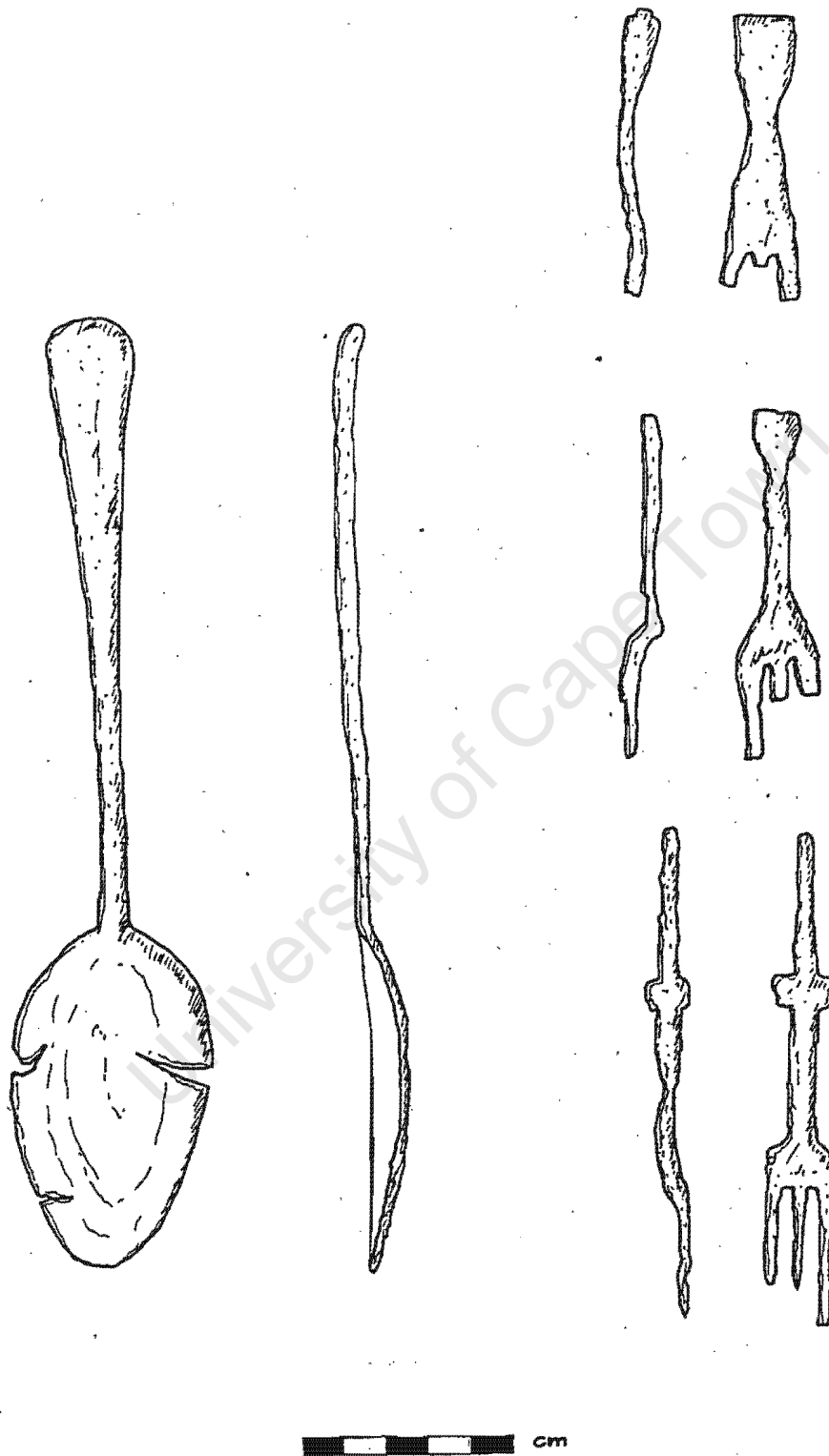


Fig. 88. Serving spoon and cake forks found at York Redoubt. Dated to possibly the pre-1850s.

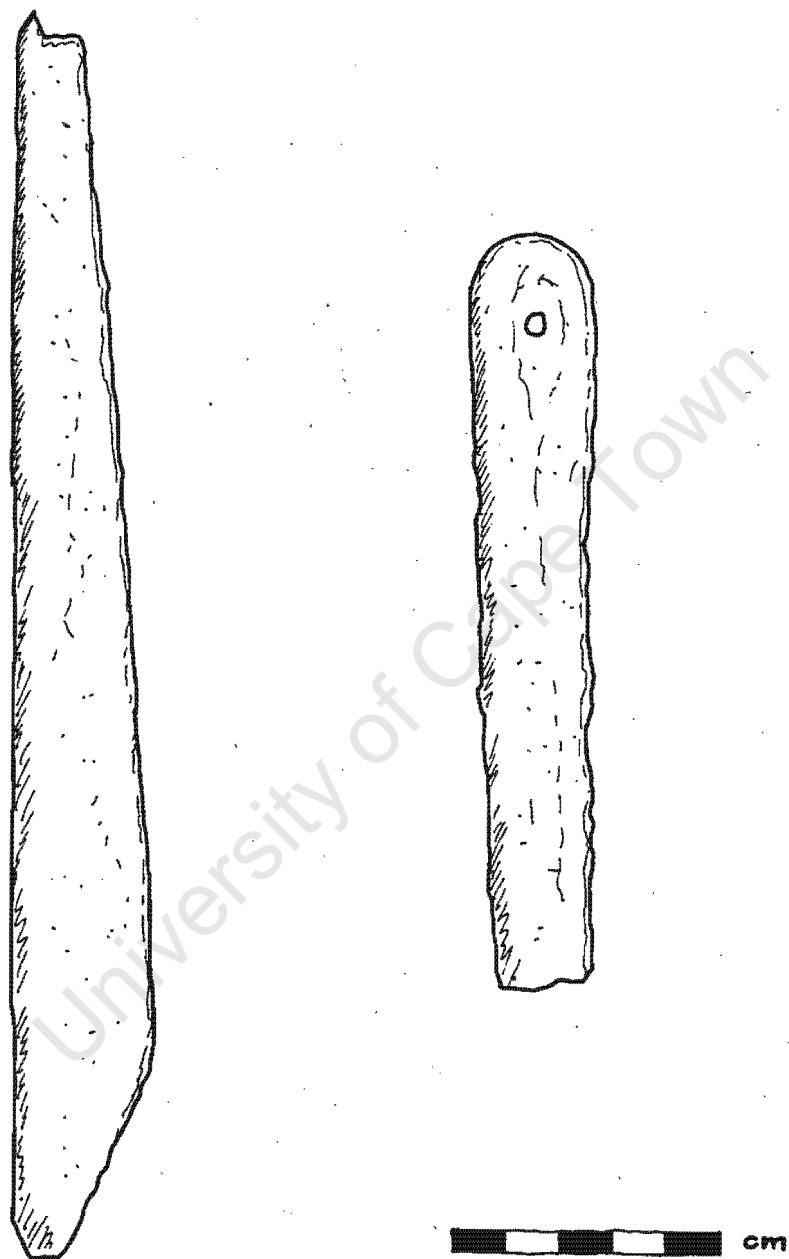


Fig. 89. Large knife blade and serving spoon handle fragment, which could also possibly serve as a ladle for pouring lead bullets (Reference: Le Roux, Marius. 1982. *The Cape Coppersmith*. Stellenbosch Museum, p 63).



## Discussion

The above collection of army issue and personal items span the late 18<sup>th</sup> and the whole of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. We know from troop ships' cargo records and lists of supply for the army that thimbles and scissors were standard issue. These artefacts could, but do not necessarily, fall within the redoubt's occupation period, as are most of the uniform parts made from metal. The boot and shoe grommets and blakeys could have been worn any time between 1780 and the present. Lady's artefact fragments such as purse, brooch clasps and handbag, from which only the clasps survived, could have been discarded or lost by visitors to the site at any time during the nineteenth century.

Some soldiers at the redoubt were able to write and take notes on slate and paper and some left graffiti on the stone walls and floor slabs of the guardhouse. Higher ranking military men and/or civilians owned pocket watches and at least one or two brought or were given souvenirs from India: the keyhole copper plate, the silver alloy tassel tube, the small *cowrie* shell and the large *cowrie* shell sock-darner may have originated from there.

The York Redoubt ruins were obviously romantic meeting places for picnickers and sweethearts. During the nineteenth century copper pennies and halfpennies became fashionable as love-tokens<sup>145</sup>. The surface of these coins was often hammered to remove the monarch's head or the Britannia. By bending the coin, it was also rendered unusable, to be kept and cherished.

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<sup>145</sup> Mr WF Pace, expert on metal restoring, pers. comm.

### 4.3.5 The Faunal Material from York Redoubt

York Redoubt was situated on the military road winding its way up to the blockhouses on Devil's Peak. If one assumes that about four to six soldiers were stationed permanently at the redoubt from about 1796 to at least 1815, and thereafter fewer soldiers, the faunal material that was collected could have accumulated during the site's occupation. There would also have been a number of visitors to the site on a regular basis, such as officers on duty rounds, friends, and slaves collecting brushwood and passing traffic to the blockhouses higher up. What direct evidence of food preparation and consumption was excavated? A fireplace (hearth) was found in the guardhouse. Cooking utensils were retrieved from all layers, such as fragments of pots, food tins, spoons, ladles, knives and forks. Furthermore, Chinese and British ceramic tableware as well as glass food containers and drinking vessels were recovered from the site. But the real evidence for food preparation and consumption is the faunal collection from the site.

### Methodology

The methodology used to analyse the faunal material was developed by Graf in his analyses of the Mount Nelson and Sea Street faunal material<sup>146</sup>. It was important to analyse and quantify the material by using a standardized worksheet. In addition, obvious butchery evidence on skeletal elements was recorded.

Any faunal material that could not be identified was placed in an adiaagnostic category. Avian and mammalian samples that could not initially be identified were compared with collections from the South African Museum. The material was initially analysed by square and layer until it was realised that it was meaningless for dating and distribution data purposes. Sample sizes are related to total volume excavated and these varied considerably. As the material was distributed on a talus slope and retrieved mostly from the magazine area, excavated volumes were difficult to estimate. In addition, the

<sup>146</sup>Graf, O.H.T. 1996. *Zooarchaeological Analysis of an Urban Refuse Dump in Cape Town's Waterside at the Turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century*. Unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Cape Town. Graf, O.H.T. 1997. *Mount Nelson Hotel, Hof Street Site Faunal Assemblage*. Report prepared for Antonia Malan, Department of Archaeology, University of Cape Town.

magazine area contained boulders, dressed stone from collapsed walls and bricks. However, the bone material was weighed by layer to give some estimate of distribution. This roughly co-incided with the volume of excavated material:

<u>Layers</u>	<u>weight/g</u>	<u>percentage</u>
All layers	650.1	3.9%
Black layer	4870.0	29.2%
Black brown red layer	2407.3	14.5%
Red black layer	1506.6	9.0%
Red Brick layer	3645.3	21.9%
Red layer	2380.1	14.3%
Top layer	1194.8	7.2%
TOTAL	16654.2	100%

Table 17. Faunal material by weight.

A diagram of the exvavated layers is provided in Figure 13 on page 52.

### Species identification

More than 25 species were identified from the York Redoubt faunal collection. These includes  $\pm 15$  mollusk species, four bird species, one reptile and six mammalian species. It excludes the various species of fish, which have been identified separately<sup>147</sup>, but includes crayfish.

#### ♦ A brief overview of the analysed material by group.

*A.pusillus*: A single terminal phalanx of a young immature individual was recovered. No butchery evidence was found.

*Anas sp.*: Two ducks were found and identified by two coracoids and three tibiotarsuses. The coracoid and tibiotarsus fragments of one duck show evidence of butchery in the form of cut and cut/scrape marks. The other coracoid shows some gnawing on the distal end.

<sup>147</sup> Mr CA Poggenpoel of the Department of Archaeology, University of Cape Town, analysed the fish remains.

*Bird Shell:* Shell fragments, probably chicken egg, were found in several layers.

*B.taurus:* A wide variety of adiagnostic *B.taurus* (cattle) bone fragments were identified. They included rib, scapula, vertebrae and shaft fragments without any morphological features. Various forms of butchery evidence were visible, such as chop marks and shaft fragments sawn with a hand or band saw. Besides root damage and gnawing, weathering of several bones was diagnosed.

The cervical, lumbar, and thoracic vertebrae show evidence of being sawn anterior-posterior longitudinally or slightly obliquely through their centrum. They also show evidence of sawing or chopping through the vertebral body from the lateral left or right side. The single cranial fragment includes cut marks on both ventral and dorsal surfaces of the zygotic and temporal processes on the malar/temporal bone. These could have resulted from the removal of the mandible from the skull. A single mandible showed a split through the ascending ramus to access the marrow cavity.

The femur, radii and tibia shaft fragments include oblique/perpendicular chop and chop-snap marks on both medial/lateral surfaces of the skeletal elements to access the bone marrow and chop up the meat into smaller portions. The *B.taurus* sample includes a radius fragment that had been hand sawn both proximally and distally. These mid-shaft fragments look similar to those that are sold by today's butchers as "soup-bones".

The scapulae were either chopped, chop-snapped or sawn with a hand or band saw. This was either done dorsally through the acromion and nutrient foramen or through the spine and anterior and posterior border of the scapula. Dismemberment was not limited to the scapula. One of the innominate fragments was sawn through the ileum shaft, while a single ulna was obliquely sawn through the olecranon.

As with other bovids, the rib fragments included various degrees of root

damage, gnawing and cut marks on medial/lateral surfaces, with oblique/perpendicular chops, chop-snaps, chop/saw snaps and chop-breaks. In contrast to *O.aries*, the rib fragments were also sawn through on occasion, probably due to their size.

*Chersina angulata*: Four tortoise carapace fragments, a single humerus and a scapula fragment were collected.

*Crayfish mandibles*: Three crayfish mandibles were found. The crayfish mandibles are of different sizes and therefore originate from three different individuals. One was found in the top layer, which might indicate deposition after the redoubt was abandoned.

*Felis sp.*: In total three maxilla fragments, two canines, a single femur, humerus, mandible and cervical vertebra were recovered. Although the *Felis sp.* fragments were assigned to *F.nigripes.*, *F.libyca* or *Felis sp.*, hybridization between *F.libyca* and *F.catus* results in less well-defined morphological characteristics between species, making identification difficult. As one of the specimens was a juvenile, it might be prudent to assign all of them to *Felis sp.*

*G.gallus*: The majority of the avian collection was made up of *G.gallus*. The sample contains most skeletal parts. The wear damage on these bones is interesting. One of the coracoids has oblique cut marks on its lateral side and a perpendicular cut mark on its medial surface. A scapula has an oblique cut on its latero-dorsal surface. A tarsometatarsus and femora shows evidence of being gnawed. No proximal or distal epiphyses are present on another femur. Root damage on one specimen and two puncture marks on the anterior and posterior surfaces of another specimen were observed. What was particularly noticeable was the absence of either proximal or distal ends of a number of skeletal elements, especially the femora and tibiotarsuses. One explanation would be that the epiphyses ends had been chewed by humans or gnawed by a non-human predator - ie a dog - leaving two puncture marks on one of the femora.

*Lepus capensis*: Only two lower incisor teeth were recovered.



*Macronectes sp.*: Two vertebrae with evidence of being gnawed and two puncture marks on one of the two vertebrae were recovered. Although these vertebrae are similar in size to albatrosses, they differ morphologically. They are either the Southern or Northern Giant Petrel.

*O.E.S.*: Only two ostrich eggshell fragments were found at the site. They show no evidence of being worked and are simply broken fragments from a larger ostrich egg.

*O. aries*: As with the *B. taurus* fragments, a wide range of skeletal parts was recovered, including those without any morphological features. Various forms of primary/secondary and tertiary butchery evidence was identified as well as root damage, gnawing, burning, fracturing, weathering, including the use of a hand or band saw on shaft fragments.

Anterior/posterior saw marks are found all along the axial skeleton (atlas, axis, and cervical, lumbar and thoracic vertebrae). In most cases the vertebrae were sawn longitudinally. Some were sawn obliquely through the centrum. The cervical, lumbar and thoracic vertebrae also show evidence of being sawn (or chopped) dorso-ventrally at right angles to the long-axis of the body. Therefore axis fragments (including the skull) show two trends: longitudinal splitting of the vertebral column, i.e. sawing anterior-posteriori, as well as separating the skull from the rest of the carcass posteriori by sawing/chopping obliquely through the axis or the cervical vertebrae. Sawing also extends through the sacrum anterior/posteriori, with evidence of a saw/chop through the anterior portion of the sacrum. This severed the hindlimb from the rest of the animal through the ilium shaft and sacral wing.

The rib fragments show both secondary and tertiary butchery evidence: perpendicular or oblique chop, chop-snap, chop/saw snap, chop-fracture, saw-snap or saw marks on medial/lateral sides. The most common butchery technique was the chop-snap. Root damage, gnawing and puncture marks were also found. A number of rib fragments had been chopped or chop-snapped medially or laterally, both dorsally and ventrally. Furthermore, those rib fragments that can be assigned to either the left or right side of the animal show a slightly different trend: often only the dorsal section, head and neck, and/or costal groove remained. This is a function of dorsal/ventral chopping

through the thoracic vertebrae. The butchers also sawed/chopped through the dorsal spine to access the rib cage. The identified ribs show oblique and perpendicular chop and chop-snap marks on both medial and lateral surfaces. This indicates that the rib cage was removed from the thoracic vertebrae by either chopping dorso-laterally adjacent to the transverse process of the thoracic vertebrae, or by turning the carcass over and chopping dorso-medially through the rib head/neck/tubercle region.

The most frequent form of butchery evidence on the mandibles are chops or chop-snaps. The mandibles are either broken off below the coronoid process or mandibular condyle; or they are chopped or chop-snapped into or through the region of the check teeth. Alternatively the mandibles are split between the symphyseal surface and the check teeth either laterally or lingually, or are split along the ascending ramus.

Cut marks on the mandibular condyle may relate to either tertiary food use or may have facilitated the disarticulation on the mandible from the maxilla. Cut marks on the cranium are often found on both the ventral and dorsal surfaces of the zygomatic processes on the temporal bone. This facilitated disarticulation / dismemberment of the mandible from the cranium. Although no clear cranium fragments with chop marks were found, one of the horn cores showed evidence of an oblique chop into the skeletal element. Root damage and puncture marks were also observed.

Numerous hyoid skeletal elements were found throughout the site (MNE=37). Although root damage, gnaw and puncture marks are found on them, cut marks and some scrape marks were far more numerous on both medial and lateral surfaces. This suggests primary/secondary butchery to get access to the tongue and to remove it from the skull.

The innominates show a high degree of chopping or chop-snaps. The preferred areas are around the pubis/acetabulum or along the ilium shaft and between the tuber coxae and tuber sacrale. In a few cases the innominate has been chopped and/or chop-snapped between the lesser sciatic notch and the ischiatic spine. The first two are largely functional cuts. By chopping through the pubis and/or acetabulum the femur is separated from the pelvis. Chopping/sawing through the ilium shaft results in dismembering the upper

hindlimb from the vertebral column.

The femur, humeri, radii, and tibial shaft fragments include oblique / perpendicular chop and chop-snap marks on both medial/lateral surfaces of the skeletal elements. They were found mainly on the proximal-, mid- and distal shaft regions of these skeletal elements. This pattern is also observed in some of the distal ulna shaft fragments as mid-shaft chop-snaps. These butchery marks indicate cutting the meat into smaller portions for a stew and harvesting the bone marrow. A few metacarpals also show evidence of chop-snapping through the mid-shaft region. The above mentioned bones also show evidence of tertiary food utilization, ie after cooking, with cut marks placed largely at places of non-articulation and -dismemberment. The best example is seen on a radius skeletal fragment, a cut mark placed on top of a chop mark. This could only have happened after the radius had been chopped.

Chop marks also extend to several phalanges. One first phalanx has two oblique chop marks on the dorsal surface. These chop marks may either have been intended to break open the phalanx or roughly separate the phalanges from the metapodials.

The scapulae were either chopped, chop-snapped or sawn. This was accomplished by either splitting the glenoid cavity, the acromion and nutrient foramen or the spine and anterior and posterior borders of the scapula dorsally. This separated the humerus from the scapula or the dorsal and ventral portions of the scapula. It may also have been a quick way of getting access to the dorsal proximal humerus, ie upper forelimb.

*P.coronatus/P.capensis*: A single juvenile Cape or Crowned Cormorant was identified on the basis of a radius shaft.

*Procavia capensis*: Only one specimen was identified from a maxilla.

*S. scrofa*: Although eight pig fragments were identified, the minimum number of individuals could have been two individuals. The sample includes both fused and unfused longbones. The single radius was from an unfused individual and contained perpendicularly cut marks to the long axis of the

bone on the proximal end. There are two fused ulna/radii, one of which was obliquely sawn ventro-dorsally. The *S.scrofa* vertebral column seems to have been butchered similar to the bovids. The body of the first sacral vertebra was sawn antero-posteriorly. Secondary cut marks were also found on both the sacrum and mandible. Root damage was observed on the maxilla and mandible skeletal elements.

**Mollusk:** A wide variety of shell species were recovered. These included *A.pustulosum*; *B.digitalis*; *Burnepenea* sp.; *C.meridionalis*; *C.moneta*; *C.tigris*; *Cypraea* sp.; *D.serra*; *P.argenvillei*; *P.barbara*; *P.compressa*; *P.granatina*; *P.granularis*; *Patella* sp.; *Turritella* sp. (?*sanguinea*); *V.tapes* and a perlemoen shell fragment.

#### ◆ Worked bone

The items fashioned from bone which we found at York Redoubt are buttons, bone blanks, a bone plate (Fig. 90), cutlery and other handle fragments (Fig. 91), a dagga pipe, ribs for a handheld fan, a toothbrush head and a domino stone (Fig. 92). The bone button blanks, ie the bone fragments from which the bone buttons were cut, originate from either *O.aries* scapulae or tibiae. Although it is problematic to state from which skeletal element the bone buttons were cut, based on their small size and high degree of polish, it is very likely that they were cut from *O.aries* scapulae. The toothbrush head and the domino were cut from long-bone shaft fragments. The highly polished dagga (genus *Cannabis*) pipe was fashioned from the mid- and proximal shaft region of an *O.aries* femur. These pipes are still used today by many people, including members of the =Khomani tribe in the Trans-national Kalahari Gemsbok Park (Fig. 93) in the Northern Cape<sup>148</sup>.

<sup>148</sup> The Cape Times, 19 March 1999.



Fig. 90. Top: bone blanks and bone buttons. Bottom: bone plate, to be used as a nameplate?



Fig. 91. From left: bone spatula, knife handle, fork handle, small handle.





Fig. 92. From left: *Cannabis* or *dagga* pipe, handheld fan ribs, toothbrush head, domino stone.



Fig. 93. Members of the =Khomani tribe smoking a similar pipe today.

The handle fragments fall into various categories. The thin fragments - probably from a fan - were cut from the ventral rib section of *O.aries*. with two larger and longer specimens probably cut from the similar skeletal element of a *B.taurus*. Six bone fragments, cut from a femur, could be crossmended to form a tubular piece, 27 mm in diameter and 68 mm long (Fig. 94). This piece was machine made with an inner thread at one end and an outer thread at the other end. The groove and line decoration was also done by a machine. This artefact could have been part of a musical instrument, for instance a recorder.



Fig. 94. Part of a recorder, a musical instrument?

Two halves of a cutlery handle were cut from the ilium shaft and tuber coxae/sacrae of an innominate. Lastly, there were long-bone shaft sections that either had been or were to be fashioned into handles. This included a radius shaft fragment with smoothed surfaces and rounded sides, and a metatarsal shaft fragment that had only been started on. All the specimens were cut from *O. aries*, except for the two larger *B. taurus* ventral rib sections.

Finally, a decorative bone plate was found, measuring 76 x 40 mm. with a single pin sized hole at the center (see Fig. 90 above). It was highly polished and a double line was engraved around the edges. It was probably designed to be used as a name plate.

## Discussion

During the analysis of the cultural material from the site, a number of interesting points were noted.

- ◆ Although a degree of pre-consumption damage was noted, the York Redoubt collection contained a high degree of post-deposition evidence. Root damage was noted throughout the site, which was initially covered with dense vegetation. In some squares the degree of root damage was consistently high throughout the layer. Root damage was graded from "limited" to "some" to "severe". It also varied between skeletal fragments, and was probably influenced both by the density of artefacts within a layer and the nature of the soil deposit.

- ◆ In contrast to either the Sea Street or Mount Nelson faunal assemblages the York Redoubt faunal material contains a far higher incidence of puncture marks. These are not limited to vertebral fragments or the long bones of *B. taurus* and *O. aries*, but are also found on *G. gallus* and even on the *Macroneustes* sp. vertebrae. Compared to the above sites a higher amount of long bone shaft fragments was recovered. The distal and proximal ends of femora, tibiae, humeri and radii were less frequently represented. This was the same for *B. taurus*, *O. aries*, *Anas* sp. and In contrast to either the Sea Street or Mount Nelson Hotel faunal *G. gallus*. It might be argued that in the case of *Anas* sp. and *G. gallus*, that some of the skeletal elements may have been chewed off by humans and not by other mammals.



- ♦ The site contains a limited degree of post-depositional weathering /leaching. The overall condition of the bone is good. In cases where evidence of weathering is seen, it consisted of exfoliation (flaking of the outer surface) and parallel cracking of the bone's fibre structure (longitudinal). According to Lyman<sup>149</sup> these relate to weathering stages 1 and 2. This means that the bones were not exposed to the weather for long, but quickly buried.
- ♦ The overall butchery pattern that is seen among the medium/larger bovids does not deviate significantly from the "general butchery pattern" that Graf has described elsewhere<sup>150</sup>.
- ♦ At York Redoubt both hand and band saw marks were identified on bone fragments.

"... The common cleaver/axe cut, however, is a composite consisting of a V-shaped score at the point of impact and break through the remaining bone. Handsaws and bandsaws leave scores that are flat bottomed and have parallel sides. Complete cuts with handsaws have a flat face showing multiple and irregular heavy striations with finer striations between, all parallel to the cutting edge. ... Bandsaws leave marks that are grossly similar but extremely regular in depth and spacing of striations"<sup>151</sup>.

Clonts also provides the following information on the implementation and use of various saws. He notes, that

"While handsaws were in use in America for woodcutting from the time of the earliest settlers, there is no evidence of use for butchering until circa 1800. In California, the use of saws for butchering is generally believed to have been introduced during the 1840s by settlers from the United States ... Circular saws powered by water and then by steam

<sup>149</sup> Lyman, R. Lee, 1994. *Vertebrate Taphonomy*. Cambridge University Press.

<sup>150</sup> Graf, O.H.T. 1996, op cit..

<sup>151</sup> Clonts, John B. 1983. Some long overdue Thoughts on Faunal Analysis. In: Albert E. Ward (Ed). *Forgotten Places and Things*. Archaeological Perspectives on American History: 349-354. Albuquerque, New Mexico: Center for Anthropological Studies.

Note: Differences between hand and band saw marks were made here on whether sawed surfaces were irregular or smooth.

have been available since the late 1700s. These saws had been introduced into at least one Midwestern packinghouse to cut meat by the 1870s. Bandsaws, the saws commonly used by meat cutters today, were invented in 1808 but were not successful until around 1850 when durable steel bands became available".<sup>152</sup>

♦ From cumulative *O. aries* MNE totals for the whole site, a few inferences can be made. Firstly, one must remember that food acquisition was probably by butchery unit or butchery portion<sup>153</sup> and therefore MNI figures for skeletal elements may be slightly misleading.

MNE counts for skeletal elements in and around the skull are particularly high. Although only seven horn cores and few atlas (MNE=1) and axis (MNE=8) vertebrae were recovered, far higher numbers for other cranial elements were gained. The MNE's for that area are as follows: mandibles (MNE=94), pre-maxilla (MNE=28), hyoids (MNE=28), maxilla (MNE=19) and crania (MNE=18). Certainly brains, tongue and the meat from the mandible were eaten. The inference is that a great number of heads were eaten. Many of the long bones (humerus, femur/innominate, radius/ulna, tibia) have similar MNE totals, with MNE totals for the lower fore- and hindlimbs at about 30% of that for the long bones. Lastly, rib racks must have been eaten. Some 366 rib fragments were collected, measuring on average around 50mm.

♦ In contrast to the faunal material from Sea Street<sup>154</sup>, very few phalanges, metatarsals and metacarpals were recovered. The absence of the lower extremities in the assemblage may prove the point below, that some of the butchery units were from provisioned samples of meat, as meat contracts stipulated the exclusion of these body parts. This does not mean that they were not eaten. "*Pens en pootjes*" may well have been eaten as the sample of phalanges include a distal and proximal first phalanx that refits perfectly.

♦ In contrast to some other historical sites in Cape Town, no wild mammalian fauna was recovered. If one excludes the single *Lepus capensis* and *Procavia capensis* samples, then no wild species were recovered. For

<sup>152</sup> Clonts, 1983, op cit. p 344.

<sup>153</sup> Graf, O.H.T. 1996, op cit.

<sup>154</sup> Graf, O.H.T. 1996, op cit.



example, at Mount Nelson Hotel a number of *Raphicerus campestris* (steenbok) skeletal elements were recovered<sup>155</sup>. If one assumes that these species were caught or killed, one needs to inquire why no other wild game was visible in the record. Either it was not eaten or the soldiers augmented their rations with slaughtered domestic stock from the shambles in Cape Town. Butchers' shops had also sprung up during the early 19<sup>th</sup> century. Thus the predominance of mutton and beef is not unexpected in the faunal collection. Chicken and pork are also represented, with at least five individual chickens and two pigs (one fused and another unfused individual). However, larger *S.scrofa* samples are required before one can accurately begin to define the various butchering units.



Fig. 95. Cowrie shell from York Redoubt, used as a sock darning.

♦ Two interesting cowries (*Cypraea moneta* and *Cypraea tigris*) were found at the site. Originally slave-traders used the former cowrie as articles of currency, while the latter has been used as a sock darning (Fig. 95), as evidenced by the pattern of long needlemarks / -lines on the outer body of the shell<sup>156</sup>

<sup>155</sup> Graf, O.H.T. 1997, op cit.

<sup>156</sup> The author used sockdarners during her youth and early adulthood. They were criss-

*C.moneta* is found from the Indo-Pacific to the Natal south coast. This, the well-known 'Money Cowrie', is rare in South Africa. Kilburn & Rippey note, that "Most Southern African specimens probably originate from the holds of old shipwrecks, and wash up even as far west as Table Bay. During the 19<sup>th</sup> century vast quantities were shipped from ports in the northern Indian Ocean, around the Cape of Good Hope to West Africa, for use in the slave and ivory trade"<sup>157</sup>. *C.tigris* is found from the Indo-Pacific to the eastern Transkei. The 'Tiger Cowrie' is rare in South Africa. This would imply that either one of the soldiers who was stationed at the York Redoubt had at one time or other been stationed on the eastern frontier or at British possessions around the Indian Ocean, or alternatively that he had received the shell from some person who had been there.

♦ A wide range of mollusks were found, mostly limpets and bi-valves. The sample includes shells that had been burnt. These were either cooked in the fire or subjected to the frequent 'veldfires' raging on the mountainside. The number of countable mollusks was calculated, although no countable apices or hinges were recovered for *Patella argenvillei* and *Chromomytilus meridionalis*. A degree of "refitting" can be seen throughout the site. Two parts of one *C.tigris* shell were found in separate squares and layers and crossmended. The crayfish mandibles are included in this collection.

♦ "Refitting" can also be seen to some extent in the special bone collection. Based on the size and thickness of a bone button in K27 (black layer) (see Fig. 13 p. 55), it may have been cut from the *O.aries* scapula fragment in J26b (red layer). The ceramics and glass, too, show a degree of refitting, ie crossmends between layers and squares. Thus serious consideration had to be taken of how the site material was analysed. As it was finally decided, after this faunal analysis was conducted, to combine all the material from the site. An overview of the faunal material is given in Tables 18 - 21 below.

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crossed with an identical needlemark pattern.

<sup>157</sup> Kilburn, R. & Rippey, E. 1982. *Sea Shells of Southern Africa*. Johannesburg: Macmillan Publishers, p 67.

	MNI/COUNT	%MNI/COUNT	Weight/ g
<i>Anas sp.</i>	2	20.0	4.6
Bird shell	?	?	8.3
<i>G.gallus</i>	5	50.0	39.0
<i>Macronectes sp.</i>	1	10.0	2.5
OES	1	10.0	1.7
<i>P.coronatus/P.capensis</i>	1	10.0	0.1
TOTAL	10	100.0	56.2

Table 18. The avian collection from York Redoubt.

	MNI/COUNT	%MNI/COUNT	WEIGHT/g
<i>A.pusillus</i>	1	1.5	0.3
<i>B.taurus</i>	3	4.5	5576.0
<i>C.angularata</i>	1	1.5	12.0
<i>Felis sp.</i>	2	3.0	2.7
<i>L.capensis</i>	1	1.5	1.4
Large/medium Bovid	1	1.5	25.8
<i>O.aries</i>	54	81.8	9731.6
<i>Procavia capensis</i>	1	1.5	0.5
<i>S.scrofa</i>	2	3.0	183.6
Unidentified material	0	0.0	55.7
TOTAL	66	100.0	15589.6

Table 19. The mammalian collection from York Redoubt.

	MNI/COUNT	%MNI/COUNT	WEIGHT/ g
<i>A.pustulosum</i>	1	2.9	18.71
<i>Bullia digitalis</i>	1	2.9	3.1
<i>Burnepenea sp.</i>	2	5.9	14.7
<i>C.meridionalis</i>	1	2.9	11.3
<i>C.moneta</i>	1	2.9	2.1
<i>C.tigris</i>	1	2.9	20.1
Crayfish mandible	3	8.8	1.9
<i>Cypraea sp.</i>	1	2.9	17.5
<i>D.serra</i>	5	14.7	108.4
<i>P.argenvillei</i>	1	2.9	17.6
<i>P.barbara</i>	3	8.8	111.5
<i>P.compressa</i>	2	5.9	7.7
<i>P.granatina</i>	6	17.6	47.4
<i>P.granularis</i>	2	5.9	10.0
<i>Patella sp.</i>	1	2.9	2.0
<i>Perlemon</i>	1	2.9	11.8
<i>Turnitella sp.</i>	1	2.9	1.0
<i>V.corrugata</i>	1	2.9	15.0
TOTAL	34	100.0	421.8

Table 20. The mollusk collection from York Redoubt.

	Common name	MNI/COUNT	%MNI/COUNT	WEIGHT/ g
<i>Rhabdosargus globiceps</i>	White stumpnose	8	57.1	56.1
<i>Rhabdosargus globiceps</i>	Cape stumpnose	1	7.1	2.7
<i>Epinephelus adscensionis</i>	Rock cod	1	7.1	7.7
<i>Lithognathus lithognathus</i>	White steenbras	1	7.1	2.8
<i>Arius feliceps</i>	catfish	1	7.1	7.9
<i>Pachymetopon blochii</i>	hottentot	1	7.1	10.1
<i>Argyrosomus hololepidus</i>	Cape cod	1	7.1	88.8
<b>TOTAL</b>		<b>14</b>	<b>100*</b>	<b>176.1</b>

\* The numbers do not add up to 100%. because  $MNI = 1 = 7.142857... \%$   
All fish species are linefish and can be caught from the rocky shore.

Table 21. Fish remains from York Redoubt<sup>158</sup>

## Conclusion

The soldiers stationed at York Redoubt and visitors during and after its occupation primarily ate meat from domesticated animals. The principal diet consisted of mutton with a lesser compliment of beef. Chicken and pork were far less frequently eaten and may have been privately acquired by the men. Ducks, fish, mollusks, crayfish and chicken eggs also formed part of their diet, while wild game formed almost no part, with a single Cape Hare and a Rock Dassie in the faunal assemblage. The variety of marine species is three times that of terrestrial species, implying a strong association with the seashore.

Meat arrived at the Cape by various means. One was to drive meat on the hoof to Cape Town. Farmers had contracts with butchers at the Cape. In addition to relationships between butchers and farmers, meat contractors seem to have traversed the colony in search of fat sheep<sup>159</sup> or butchers sent their own servants up country for the purpose of acquiring meat<sup>160</sup>.

Elsewhere, Mentzel noted that "... the meat contractors employ several

<sup>158</sup> The fish remains were analysed by Cedric Poggenpoel, Department of Archaeology, University of Cape Town.

<sup>159</sup> Mentzel, OF. 1921, 1944. *A Geographical and Topographical Description of the Cape of Good Hope*. Part One & Three Cape Town: The Van Riebeeck Society, p 114.

<sup>160</sup> Lichtenstein, H. 1928, 1930. *Travels in Southern Africa in the Years 1803, 1804, 1805 and 1806*. Volume I & II. Cape Town: The Van Riebeeck Society, p 25.

butchers, who travel round the country to buy the wethers ... Those that are driven a long way to the Groene Kloof become very thin and have to be fattened again, especially if they have to be driven through the barren cold Bokkeveld or the sandy stretches of the Karroo"<sup>161</sup>. James Ewart who was at the Cape during the first part of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, implied that similar mechanisms of acquisition were in place then<sup>162</sup>.

The fulfillment of the meat contract was worsened by transport problems farmers encountered. As contractors had their livestock grow lean upon their long journeys, they were kept at Groenekloof for example, "for a time to recover their flesh before they are killed"<sup>163</sup>. They were not only fattened on farms near Cape Town, but also on the Cape Flats which was "used as commonage for the grazing of livestock for both those who have farms in the neighbourhood and for those who come long distances from the country"<sup>164</sup>.

As with other forms of domestic stock, sheep and cattle were often sold to "Butchers, Salters and Others" by public auction or had alternatively been bought by butchers directly from farmers. These were either slaughter stock or stock that could be kept for breeding.

The shambles (earlier the *Slagt Huys*) opposite the Parade offered a wide variety of "meats" to the general public and the shipping trade at competitive prices<sup>165</sup>. Mutton, beef, lamb, preserved forms of meat (mostly beef) and other by-products were all available. Salted beef, tail fat, offal, pluck, tripe, soup meat, biltongue [sic], prime mutton, prime beef and corned-beef was also on sale, while farmers alternatively would have smoked, salted and dried their own meat<sup>166</sup>.

Mentzel informed us that there was no great market for pork, with supply satisfying local demand. But that was before the British military occupation of the Cape. There may, however, have been another factor, which results in

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<sup>161</sup> Mentzel, op cit. p 212.

<sup>162</sup> Ewart, James. 1970. *James Ewart's Journal*. Cape Town: C. Struik (Pty.) Ltd, p 37.

<sup>163</sup> Lichtenstein, op cit. p 30.

<sup>164</sup> Van Reenen, DG. 1937. *Die Journal van Gysbert van Reenen, 1803*. Kaapstad: Van Riebeeck Vereniging, p 263.

<sup>165</sup> Cook, MA & Oliver, HG. 1949. Sketches by JB in the Africana Museum. *Africana Notes & News* VI(4), p 69.

<sup>166</sup> Ewart, op cit., Mentzel, op cit., Van Reenen, op cit.



low MNI figures for pigs in the archaeological record: the prepackaging of food. It is not inconceivable that the meagre representation of *Sus scrofa* in the archaeological record is more a reflection of the fact that people were consuming pork in some other form, other than off the bone - as ham, bacon<sup>167</sup>, pork sausages, dried polonies, or as smoked, dried and pickled meat that had been de-boned. The faunal record is thus presumed to be rather limited in its scope and range.

#### 4.3.6 Plant remains.

No plant remains were collected. The preservation of organic material was poor. Tubers, roots and older plant material grew over, under and in-between the archaeological deposit, especially inside the magazine, which contained the majority of the artefacts collected. The midden was assumed to be in a secondary context, which made for poor stratigraphy.

#### 4.3.7 The claypipe collection

The York Redoubt claypipe fragments are of Dutch and British manufacture. The number of diagnostic fragments is comparatively small, out of 407 bowl fragments 31 could not be assigned to any manufacturer. The fragments were sorted into three different categories, Dutch, British and undiagnostic. Each category was then further sorted into pipebowl and -stem fragments. Makers' marks and bowl shape of the Dutch pipebowl fragments have been identified by reference to Duco's catalogue (1982)<sup>168</sup>. Borehole width was measured in each pipestem fragment to evaluate the mean date for the claypipe collection. British claypipe bowl and stem fragments were individually identified, using the sources referenced in the text.

<sup>167</sup> Cruz-Urbe, K. & Shire, C. 1991. Analysis of faunal remains from Oudepost I, an early outpost of the Dutch East India Company, Cape Province. *South African Archaeological Bulletin* 46: 92-106.

<sup>168</sup> Duco, DH. 1982. *Merken van Goudse Pijpenmakers 1660-1940*. Poperinge: Uitgeversmaatschappij De Tijdstroom Lochem.

### The Dutch claypipe material

Only 12 bowl fragments with heel marks and 14 pipe stems with decoration can be ascribed to Dutch manufacture with any certainty, i.e. circle and chevron design stem decoration. However, these cannot be ascribed to any particular decade, all we know is that they are common after the second quarter of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The Dutch bowl fragments are listed in Table 22.

One 16 gekroond dated to 1719-1873 (Duco 1982: 99. no. 639);
Two 24 gekroond, dated to 1731-1867/1870 (Duco 1982: 99. no. 647) with the Gouda shield and 'slegte' quality mark on both sides of the heel;
Two ijsslee gekroond, dated to 1708-1834 (Duco 1982: 68. no. 250) with the Gouda shield and 'slegte' quality mark;
Two kraan gekroond, dated to 1695-1819/1827 (Duco 1982: 63. no. 185) with the Gouda shield and 'slegte' quality mark;
Three PVA (Pieter van Asperen), dated to 1675-1827 (Duco 1982: 86. no. 473) with the Gouda shield and 'slegte' quality mark;
One WL/WT gekroond on base of bowl, of Willem Lamberts, it dates to 1660/70-1874 (Duco 1982: 80. no. 398), if WT, it dates to 1698-1940 (Duco 1982: 84. no. 456);
One scheepje, later version dated to 1670/1680-1940 (Duco 1982: 68. no. 252b) with the Gouda shield and 'slegte' quality mark.

Table 22. Dutch bowl fragments.

These bowl fragments are difficult to date, as many of the heel marks have long date ranges. Since all bowls with the Gouda shield and 'slegte' quality mark on them post-date 1740, some of their ranges of manufacture can be shortened:

- 16 gekroond now dates to 1719-1873
- 24 gekroond now dates to 1740-1867/1870
- ijsslee gekroond now dates to 1740-1834
- kraan gekroond now dates to 1740-1819/1827
- PVA (Pieter van Asperen) now dates to 1740-1827
- Willem Lamberts now dates to 1660/70-1874
- WT now dates to 1698-1940
- Scheepje now dates to 1740-1940.

Their date ranges are still too long to make any clear inferences. If one assumes that no material was deposited prior to the building of the site, three

maker's heel marks are left. The pipes which were manufactured between 1796 and 1829 are:

- ijsslee gekroond, 1796-1834
- kraan gekroond, 1796-1819/1827
- PVA (Pieter van Asperen, 1796-1827)

This does not exclude the possibility of people visiting the site after its known occupation and leaving behind their refuse, including broken clay pipes.

Although the heel mark ranges are on average very broad, four of the bowl fragments were more or less complete, allowing one to ascribe them to a specific bowl type and therefore period of manufacture. All are of Type H or later, with one Type H/I. Type H dates to ca 1775-1815 and Type I to ca 1815-1900<sup>169</sup>. This seems to confirm the late 18<sup>th</sup> century to early 19<sup>th</sup> century date for the Dutch material at the York Redoubt.

### **The British claypipe material**

The majority of the claypipe fragments from York Redoubt can be assigned to British manufacture. There seem to be no Scottish or Irish pipe fragments among the diagnostic specimens. For the purpose of clarity the fragments were sorted according to bowl and stem decoration. There are several broad categories:

- Fragments with pipe manufacturers' initials (known as spurs), names or parts thereof,
- fragments decorated with ribbing, fluting, embossed with motifs, such as birds, plants etc,
- bowl fragments with Masonic symbols,
- glazed pipe stem fragments,
- fragments with interesting marks,
- plain pipe stem fragments.

### Spurred bowl fragments

Seven identifiable spurred bowl fragments were recovered:

two with II,  
one with SL,  
one with ST,  
one with TB,  
one with TC,  
one spur with a six-pointed star on each side.

Adrian Oswald provides a long list of possible pipe makers for the II, SL, ST, TB, TC and other spurred fragments<sup>170</sup>. His list includes pipemakers from various cities and counties, such as 15 London pipe makers; two Liverpool (one each from Norfolk & Shropshire), and one each from Bristol, Chester, Kent and Staffordshire. Considering the style and shape of the pipe fragments, some of the pipe manufacturers could be eliminated.

### II and Jones, London.

Two spurred II pipes, one with the JONES bowl stamp facing the smoker were found at York Redoubt (Fig. 96).

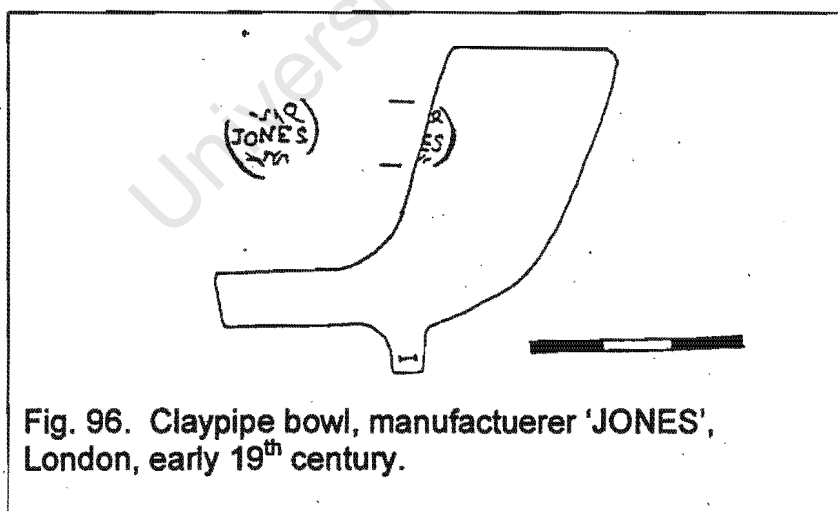


Fig. 96. Claypipe bowl, manufacturer 'JONES', London, early 19<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>169</sup> Duco, op cit. p 111.

<sup>170</sup> Oswald, A. 1975. *Clay pipes for the Archaeologist*. BAR International Series 14.

An identical bowl fragment with the letters JONES facing the smoker was recovered from the Barrack Street well, Layer Three<sup>171</sup>. Graf's summary of that layer states:

"that it had ... a noticeable increase in refined earthenware with a corresponding decrease in oriental porcelain. An 1826 halfpenny and an 1842 Victorian coin were found, as was a badge of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Warwickshire Regiment. which was stationed at the Cape between 1824 and 1837 [...]. All the material from this layer suggests an early 19<sup>th</sup> century date for the assemblage"<sup>172</sup>.

The horizon date given for the material from the Barrack Street well ties in with the fragments from York Redoubt and the date of its occupation. Other 11 pipes with the maker's name imparted on the stem have been found at a Californian site and in Canada.

It has been suggested that the pipe bowl was more likely of London than of Liverpool manufacture. David Higgins wrote that the bowl "is of a London form and stylistically dates from the late eighteenth century. The Jones bowl stamp is similar to examples, which Peter [Davey] has recorded from London. He also suggests that the most likely maker for this pipe is either James Jones, recorded at St Lukes, London, from at least 1799-1839 or John Jones, working at Bow, London in 1794 and at Mile End New Town, London, in 1799".<sup>173</sup>

### SL pipes.

Oswald's list included three possible London pipemakers with the letters SL (Fig. 97):

- Samuel Lewis, 1774-1805, Bristol Poll, Oxford St., Lambeth, Southwark, Horesley Down. D. Tp.Co.
- Samuel Lambert (1). 1805-32, Finbury Sq. Tp.Co. D.
- Samuel Lambert (2), 1823-88, Kingsland, D.

<sup>171</sup> Graf, OHT. 1992. *Clay Tobacco Pipes from Archaeological Sites from the Cape Province, South Africa*. Unpublished B.A. (Hons.) Thesis, University of Cape Town, p 84.

<sup>172</sup> Graf, OHT, 1992, op cit. p 50.

<sup>173</sup> Letter from David Higgins to OHT Graf, dated 15 December 1996.



Of the three London pipemakers listed above. David Higgins suggests that the latter family were the most likely pipemakers. He writes that: "If [the pipe] is SL it could be Samuel Lambert at Finsbury Square. London in 1805 and at Kingsland. London. later". No other information is available on Samuel Lambert (1) or (2).

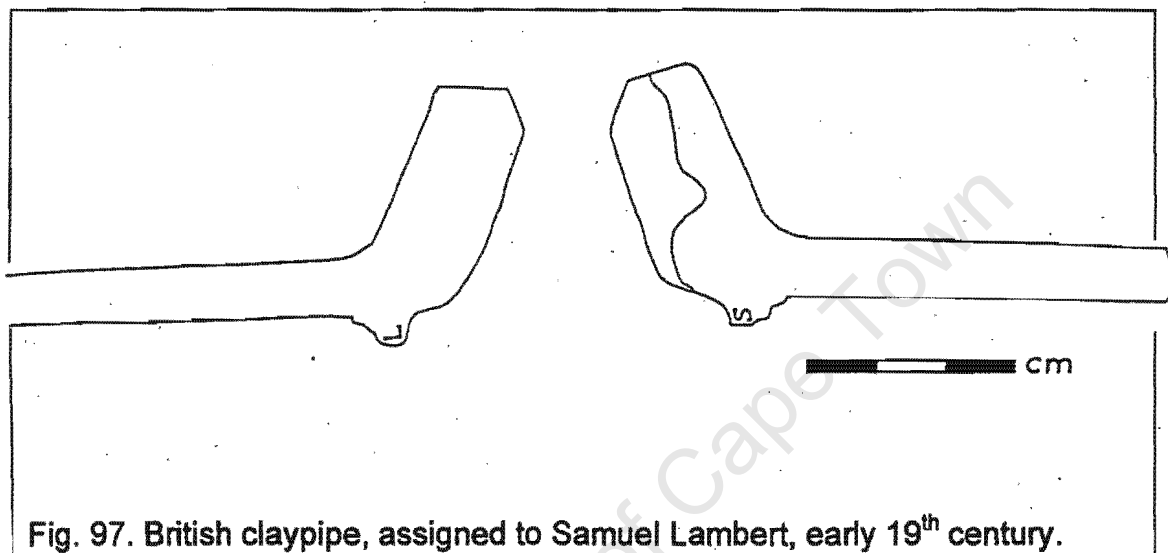


Fig. 97. British claypipe, assigned to Samuel Lambert, early 19<sup>th</sup> century.

### ST pipes.

The pipe stem fragment is drawn in Figure 98. Oswald's list of pipemakers and associations with pipemaking include two possible early 19<sup>th</sup> century manufacturers:

- Sam Tester, 1828, of Little Grays Inn Lane, D. London.
- Stephen Tomlin, 1838, F. of Bristol.

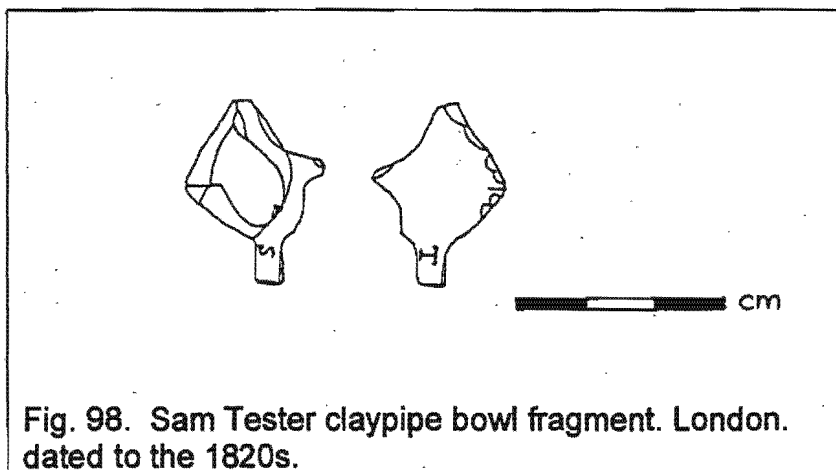
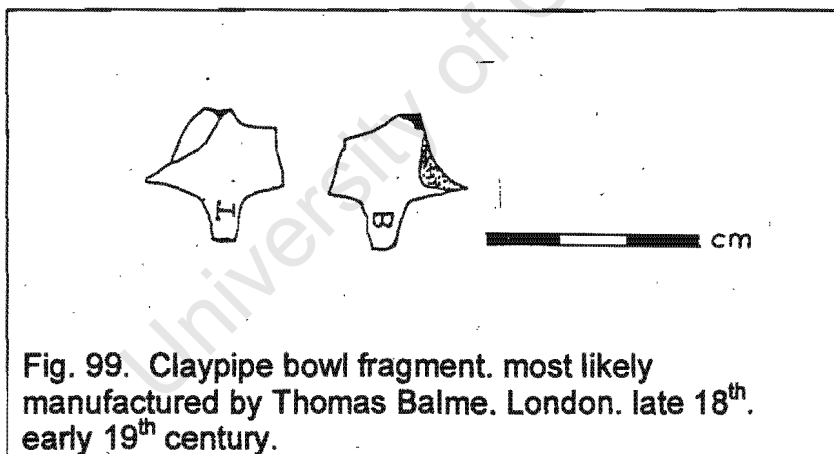


Fig. 98. Sam Tester claypipe bowl fragment. London. dated to the 1820s.

Considering the style and shape of the bowl, it was most likely a product of London. The Bristol industry had already declined, but was still exporting clay pipes. Thus Stephen Tomlin of Bristol may have made the pipe. However, as the market was dominated by London pipemakers, with the Glasgow industry starting to take a larger slice during the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the evidence weighs in favour of a London pipemaker. It seems that Sam Tester of Little Grays Inn Lane, London was the most likely tobacco pipe maker.

### TB pipes.

One spur fragment was recovered, with little of the bowl remaining (Fig. 99). Besides the two London TB pipe makers, Thomas Brown, 1805-11, Peter St., Westminster and Thomas Balme, 1805-45, Warden T.P.Co. D. Mile End Rd, 1840 Romford, 1805-11 Kingston and Surbiton in 1845, four other pipe makers were noted from other centres.



Information provided by David Higgins suggests that only one of these makers was the most likely pipe manufacturer<sup>174</sup>. Of both the TB and TC pipes, he notes that the "style and form of the fragments suggests they are most likely to be of London products" and fit in with late eighteenth or early nineteenth century forms". "If they are London pipes", he notes, "then Thomas Balme may well have made the TB example. The Balme family are known exporters of pipes".

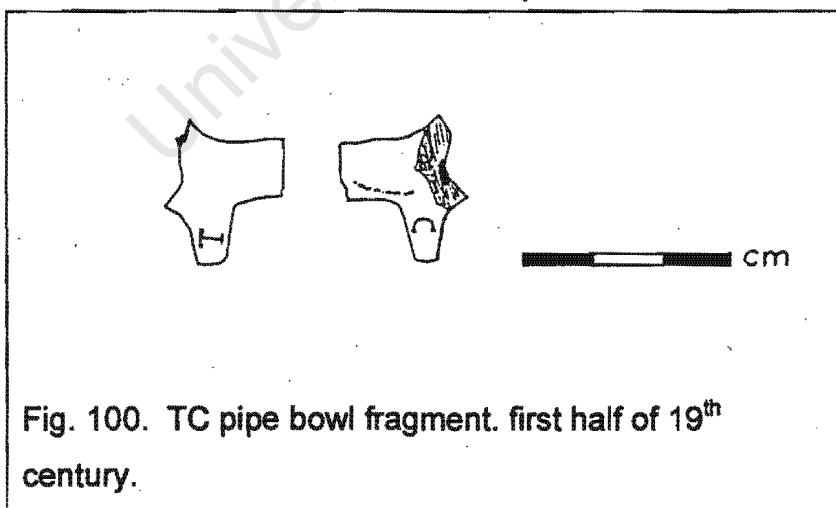
<sup>174</sup> Letter from David Higgins to OHT Graf, op cit.

### TC Pipes

Oswald's list of possible pipemakers with the letters TC included three from London:

- Thomas Cole, 1781-1812, Bristol Polls. Deptford, Wapping, Stepney.
- Thomas Clarke, 1805-8, Edgware. T.P.Co. D.
- Thomas Cluer, 1805, T.P.Co.

David Higgins suggests that only one of these three pipemakers was most likely responsible for the TC pipe (Fig. 100). But he , that "The TC pipe could also have been manufactured by Thomas Cox, 1835-1842, Holburn D. London". However, the seven years that he was listed in the street directories fall outside the known occupation of York Redoubt. This poses a dilemma. Although the majority of the pipe material is consistent with the occupation of the site, part of the material may nevertheless have been discarded after 1829. "Exactly how much and which specimens" is impossible to say<sup>175</sup>. Thus, if the pipe was discarded after 1829, Thomas Cox may have been responsible for its manufacture, but if it was discarded before that date either one of Oswald's candidates fits the pattern.



<sup>175</sup> Graf, OHT, pers. comm. This is aggravated by the fact that no stratigraphy for dating purposes could be established.

### The Six Pointed Star.

A single spurred pipe with six pointed stars was recovered from the York Redoubt (Fig. 101). Peter Davey noted that bowls with the six-pointed star were common features on 19<sup>th</sup> century spurred bowls. He provides no further information on these spurred bowl fragments. A single six pointed spurred pipe made by John Hurst, fl.1808-49, Cow Cross Street, Smithfield was documented by Tatman<sup>176</sup>. Similar moulded star spurred pipes can be attributed to the Williams family and to John Jewster, c.1790-1850<sup>177</sup>.

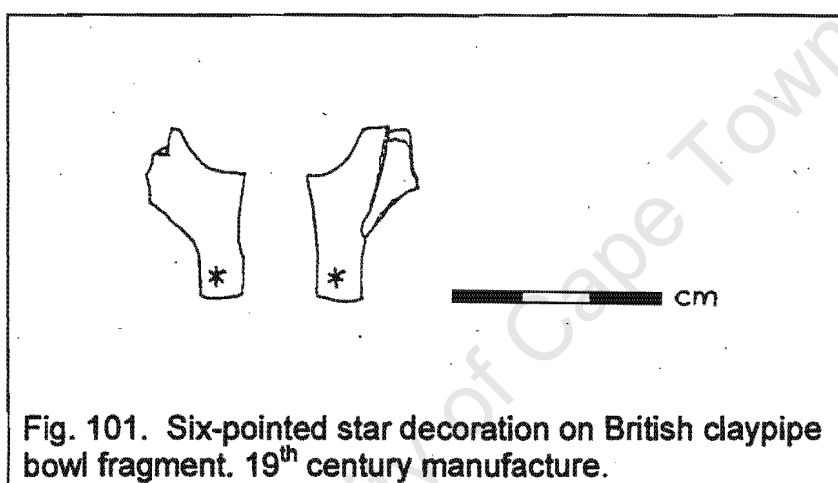


Fig. 101. Six-pointed star decoration on British claypipe bowl fragment. 19<sup>th</sup> century manufacture.

### Williams Kent Street London.

Eight stem fragments with WILLIAMS KENT STREET LONDON and the 'leaf and arrow design' or variations thereof were recovered from York Redoubt<sup>178</sup>. They are depicted in Fig. 102. Graf noted that all the pipes were pressed from different moulds. The Williams Family of Kent Street was in business between 1820 and 1860<sup>179</sup>. Many 19<sup>th</sup> century firms produced a wide variety of pipes. Therefore the presence of eight different moulds for roughly the same type of pipe decoration over forty years should not surprise us. Colin Tatman writes, "the pipes from this family are well represented in several London collections.

<sup>176</sup> Tatman, C. 1985. Stamps and Mouldings on Clay Pipes Found in London. In: *The Archaeology of the Clay Tobacco Pipe*, edited by Peter Davey. IX. More Pipes from the Midlands and Southern England. BAR British Series 146(ii).

<sup>177</sup> Tatman, CA. 1994. The Clay Tobacco Pipe Industry in the Parish of Newington, Southwark, London. In: Davey, Peter (Editor). *The Archaeology of the Clay Tobacco Pipes XIII*. p 39, Fig. 12, no. 5.

<sup>178</sup> Tatman, 1994, op cit. p 38, Fig. 11, No's 4-5.

... from several excavations".<sup>180</sup> This pipemaking family exported pipes in large quantities throughout the empire and beyond.

### Ribbing and fluting.

Although many fluted bowls have been recovered from England, Oswald states, that "one can't say much about them for the type was used by nearly all pipemakers in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, although it must have evolved post 1760, because DuMonceau figures one in his work of 1770". Walker adds, that "close dating is most difficult as some of this type of decoration could have been produced by many makers covering a considerable time period. Fluted bowls seem to be typical of the 19<sup>th</sup> century".

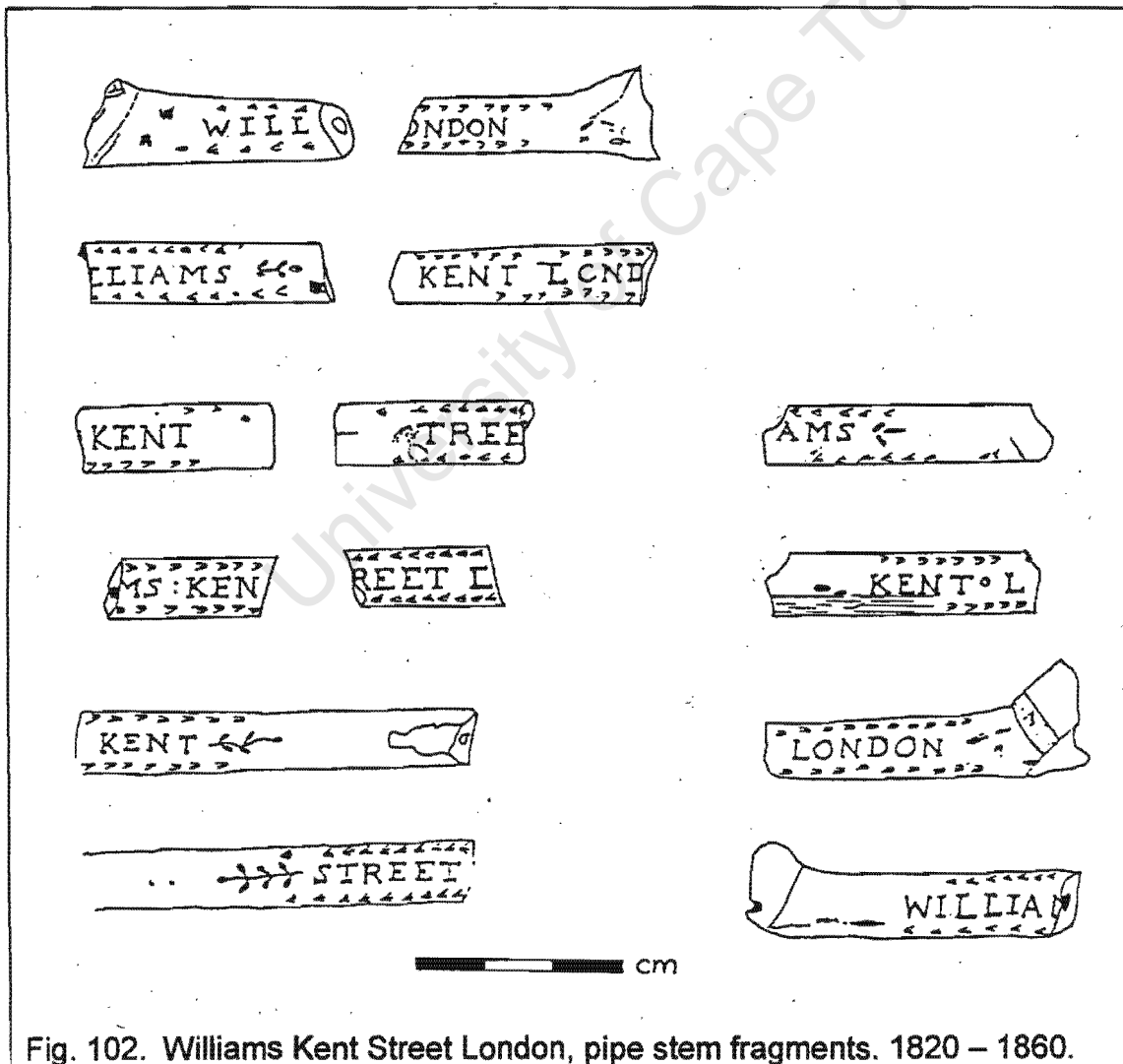


Fig. 102. Williams Kent Street London, pipe stem fragments. 1820 – 1860.

<sup>179</sup> Tatman, 1994, op cit. p 32.

<sup>180</sup> Tatman, 1994, op cit. p 32.



Fluting has also been incorporated into many of the Masonic bowl fragments (see Fig. 105 below).

At York Redoubt at least three ribbed or reeded bowl fragments have been recovered (Fig. 103). Similar ribbed or reeded bowl fragments have been excavated from Old Hall Street, Hanley, Stoke-on-Trent, dating to ca 1820-1830<sup>181</sup>.

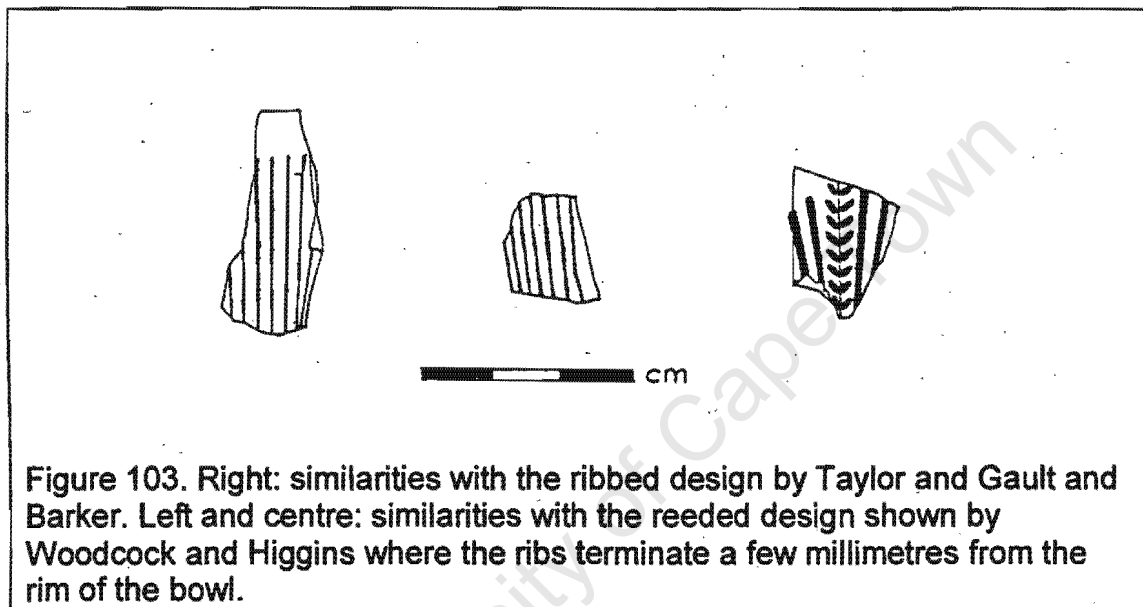


Figure 103. Right: similarities with the ribbed design by Taylor and Gault and Barker. Left and centre: similarities with the reeded design shown by Woodcock and Higgins where the ribs terminate a few millimetres from the rim of the bowl.

The Woodcock reeded design produced by William Hensell, ca 1825 to ca 1853 dates to about 1830, while the Higgins ribbed pipe comes from contexts dating from 1780 to 1820. Other ribbed bowl fragments have also been found from contexts in Rome, New York<sup>182</sup>, post-dating 1828.

#### Leaf decoration.

Although no pipes were found with W/W on the spur, two bowl fragments have the leaf design on the front pipe bowl mould seam (Fig. 104), similar to those listed by Tatman<sup>183</sup>.

<sup>181</sup> O.H.T.Graf, pers. comm.

<sup>182</sup> Hanson, LH Jr. 1971. Pipes from Rome, New York. *Historical Archaeology*, Vol 5: 94.

<sup>183</sup> Tatman, 1994, op cit. p 41.

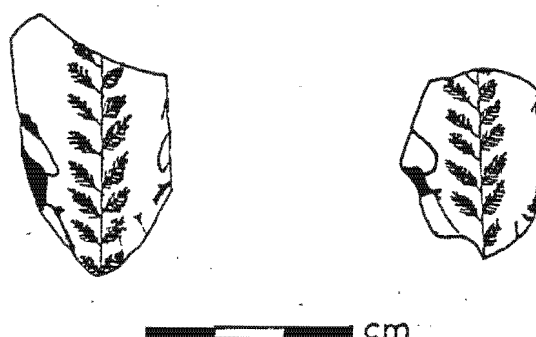


Fig. 104. Leaf-decorated claypipe bowl fragments. frontispieces.

At another site, four thin walled bowl fragments decorated with oakleaves (?) on the mould seam have been dated to between 1820 and 1840<sup>184</sup>. These are similar in design to the ones found at York Redoubt and may date to the same period.

### Masonic symbols.

At least one bowl fragment was recovered with the stag's head and several with the *acacia* branch mould. The stag bowl fragments look very similar to the one listed by Davey from Norton Priory, but are a variation thereon. A full description of Davey's specimen reads as follows:

"Elaborately moulded bowl; fabric C; fluted on the back, a stag's head and horns on the front, a bird, possibly an ibis, with branches on the left and dividers and set-squares on the right - presumably all Masonic symbols; ... although Masonic bowls of this general type are common all over the country... this example bears a close resemblance to finds from Rookery Farm Rainford.... In these examples the arrangement, number and type of elements are identical, although the mould is obviously different; ... In view of the fine quality of the moulding and the Rainford finds, probably made

<sup>184</sup> Graf, O.H.T. 1997. *Notes on the York Redoubt British Claypipes*. A report for Ute A Seemann.

in Rainford towards the end of the eighteenth century"<sup>185</sup>.

Similar Masonic pipe fragments have been found at Rookery Farm, Rainford<sup>186</sup> and from Dale Street, Liverpool<sup>187</sup>. A more detailed description of the York Redoubt stag's head (Fig. 105, top left), Liver Bird (Fig. 105, top and centre right) and Masons' tools (Fig. 105, centre left, bottom left and middle) embossed on the claypipes can be found in Higgins<sup>188</sup>. Other variations of bowls with Masonic symbols of the compass, setsquare, sextant and open book have been found in Dorking, Surrey and Coventry<sup>189</sup>, the latter dated to the early 19<sup>th</sup> century.

A minimum of six bowl fragments from the site have some Masonic connection (Fig. 105): the setsquare and compass enclosing the letter G (for God or Geometer = 47<sup>th</sup> Law of Euclid and is the symbol of 'light'<sup>190</sup>), and *acacia* branches. The Masonic clay pipes from York Redoubt have clear similarities with the samples drawn by Dagnall, Davey and Higgins.

Four pipe stem fragments (Fig. 102 above) seem to have *acacia* branches embossed on them. They were manufactured by Williams Kent Street London, dating from 1820 to 1860. "The *acacia* in the mythic system of Freemasonry is pre-eminently the symbol of the 'IMMORTALITY OF THE SOUL'- that important doctrine which is the great design of the Institution to teach"<sup>191</sup>. The *acacia* sprig was cast by his fellow brethren into the grave of a Mason at burial<sup>192</sup>.

<sup>185</sup> Graf, 1997, op cit.

<sup>186</sup> Dagnall, R. 1982. Rookery Farm, Rainford. In: Davey, P. (Ed.) *The Archaeology of Clay Tobacco Pipes. Part IV: More Pipes and Kilns from England*. BAR British Series 100: 179-188.

<sup>187</sup> Higgins, 1987, op cit.

<sup>188</sup> Higgins, 1987, op cit. p 19.

<sup>189</sup> Graf, 1997, op cit.

<sup>190</sup> Mr Peter Brown, Freemason, pers. comm.

<sup>191</sup> Mackey, Albert G. 33 degree. 1929. *Encyclopaedia of Freemasonry and kindred Sciences*. Chicago, Toronto, New York, London: Published by the Masonic History Company, p 10.

<sup>192</sup> I owe this information to Mr Peter Brown, Tokai, a Freemason. See also: Whittick, Arnold. 1971. *Symbols, Signs and their Meaning and Uses in Design*. London: Leonard Hill Books, p

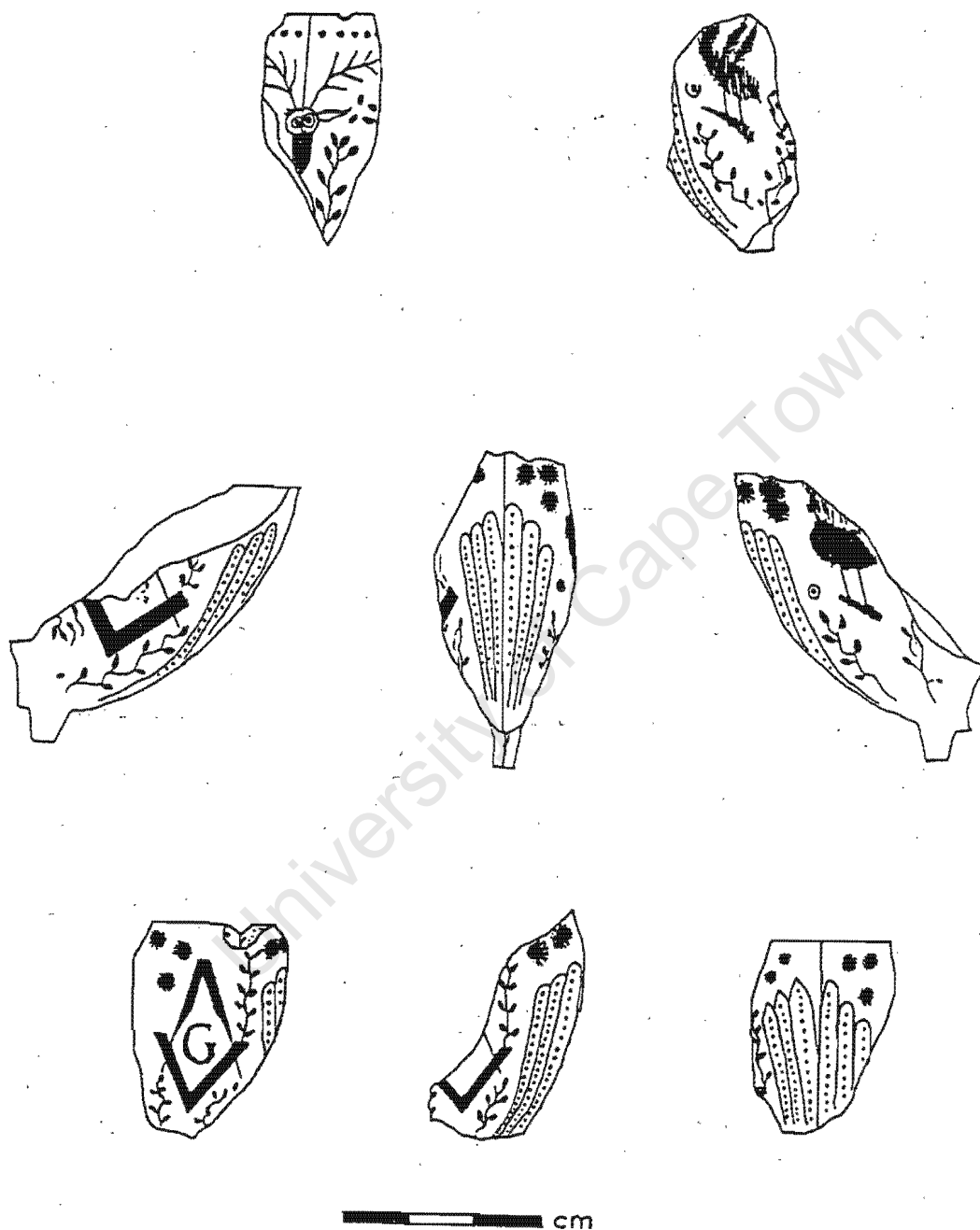


Fig. 105. Masonic claypipe bowl fragments from York Redoubt. Top left: stag's head. Top and center right: Liverbird. Center and bottom left and middle: Masonic tools. All 19<sup>th</sup> century.

Four pipe stem fragments (Fig. 102 above) seem to have *acacia* branches embossed on them. They were manufactured by Williams Kent Street London, dating from 1820 to 1860. "The *acacia* in the mythic system of Freemasonry is pre-eminently the symbol of the 'IMMORTALITY OF THE SOUL'- that important doctrine which is the great design of the Institution to teach"<sup>193</sup>. The *acacia* sprig was cast by his fellow brethren into the grave of a Mason at burial<sup>194</sup>.

Higgins comments on the York Redoubt drawings, that

"The Masonic fragments all appear to be typical of products from the north-west [ie Liverpool area]. Although Masonic designs were produced all over England from the later eighteenth century, the particular motifs and their arrangement on these examples is typical of the northwest. The characteristic elements are the use of a stag's head facing the smoker; the use and style of the foliage motifs and the Liver Bird (symbol of Liverpool) [Fig. 106]. The G within the square and compass stands for 'God'. Individually these motifs were widely produced, but occurring in combination like this I feel fairly certain that these pipes can all be attributed to the Liverpool area ... unfortunately the Liverpool makers were not very good at marking their pipes!"<sup>195</sup>

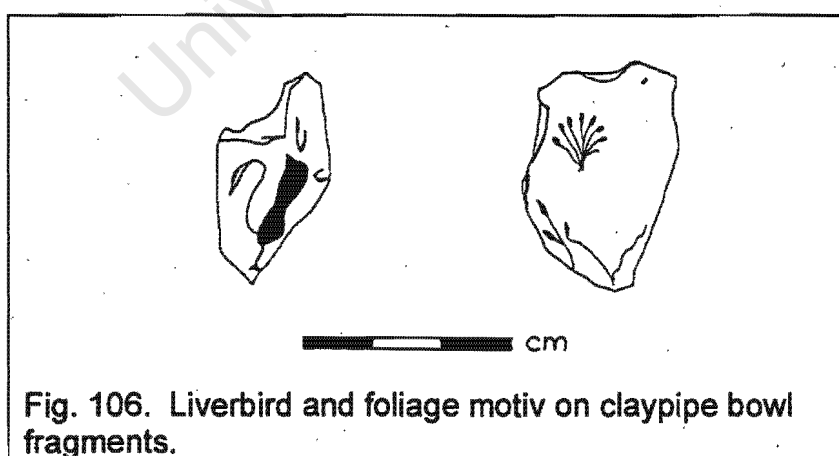


Fig. 106. Liverbird and foliage motif on claypipe bowl fragments.

<sup>193</sup> Mackey, Albert G. 33 degree. 1929. *Encyclopaedia of Freemasonry and kindred Sciences*. Chicago, Toronto, New York, London: Published by the Masonic History Company, p 10.

<sup>194</sup> I owe this information to Mr Peter Brown, Tokai, a Freemason. See also: Whittick, Arnold. 1971. *Symbols, Signs and their Meaning and Uses in Design*. London: Leonard Hill Books, p 193.

<sup>195</sup> Higgins, DA. Letter to OHT Graf, dated 15 December 1996.



Other complementary evidence supports the attribution of these pipes to the early 19<sup>th</sup> century. A similar Masonic bowl found at Dale Street, typical of Liverpool manufacture, was dated to ca 1810-30<sup>196</sup>. This falls within the known occupation span of York Redoubt.

### **Glazed pipe stem fragments.**

Ian Walker notes that the coating of mouthpieces with varnish, glaze or wax to prevent a smoker's lips adhering to the porous clay appears to be rare before the 19<sup>th</sup> century. In many cases where they have been found, they are associated with other stem fragments which date to the 19<sup>th</sup> century. For example, a complete pipe coated with red wax attributed to John Jester (c.1810-1850) was recovered from Chatham, Surrey. At the Ermatinger Old Stone House Site, which post-dates 1814, 74.3% of all mouthpieces were either glazed or varnished, while other coated mouthpieces, fluted and leaf-decorated bowl fragments have also been recovered from Port Arthur, Tasmania, occupied from 1830 to 1877.<sup>197</sup>

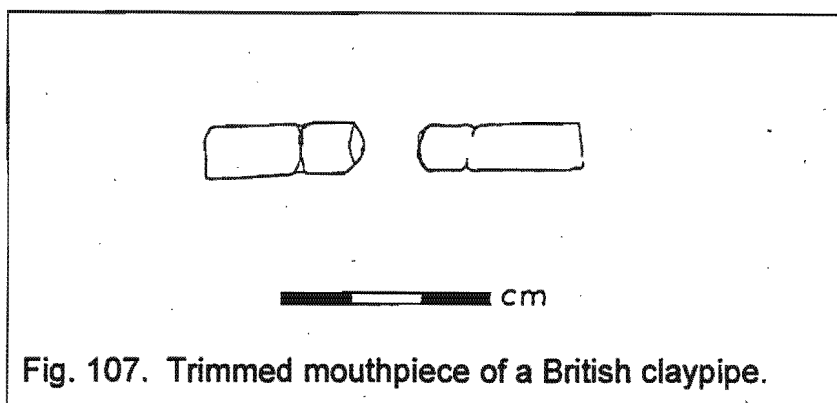
The presence of thirteen glazed mouthpieces at York Redoubt is therefore not unexpected. The glazed mouthpieces include two with green glaze, four with yellow glaze and seven with a mixture of yellow/green glaze.

### **Miscellaneous claypipe fragments.**

Three other interesting fragments were found. One British plain bent pipe stem was recovered. It measures 92 mm, but otherwise it is undiagnostic. Two pipe stem fragments show evidence of smoker's wear on the stem. One of them shows evidence of trimming at the mouthpiece itself (Fig. 107), with a more recent cutting about 8 mm from the one end.

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<sup>196</sup> Higgins, 1987, op cit. p 19.



The claypipe user had probably cut this groove into the pipe stem, so that his teeth could grip the pipe at this point. On a second sample, the smoker had trimmed off one end, probably after the stem had been broken. This pipe stem also shows evidence of tooth wear by the smoker. It is known that slaves used to re-fashion discarded claypipe stems to squeeze out the last bit of use<sup>198</sup>. In addition to the above we collected plain bowl and stem fragments, which we were unable to identify.

### Conclusion

The York Redoubt clay pipe collection contains both British and Dutch material, the majority being British. The Dutch material dates to the late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, while the British material primarily dates to the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Most of the spurred pipes are of London origin, while Masonic bowls with Liver birds were a symbol for the city of Liverpool's manufacturers. The material seems consistent with the known occupation of the site between 1796 and 1829, with a short hiatus during the Batavian interlude. Nevertheless visitors to the site may well have discarded broken clay pipes after 1829.

In common with site analyses of clay pipe fragments this collection was subjected to distribution pattern analysis and mean assemblage dating. This proved to be meaningless, since the midden material was in a secondary

<sup>197</sup> Graf, 1997, op cit.

<sup>198</sup> Prof Martin Hall. Notes from a lecture given to the Archaeology Society, Cape Town, 7.10.96.

context. Dating the collection proved less difficult using pipe stem bore diameter measurements. The actual mean date, according to the bore diameter frequency distribution chart should be around 1810 to 1820:

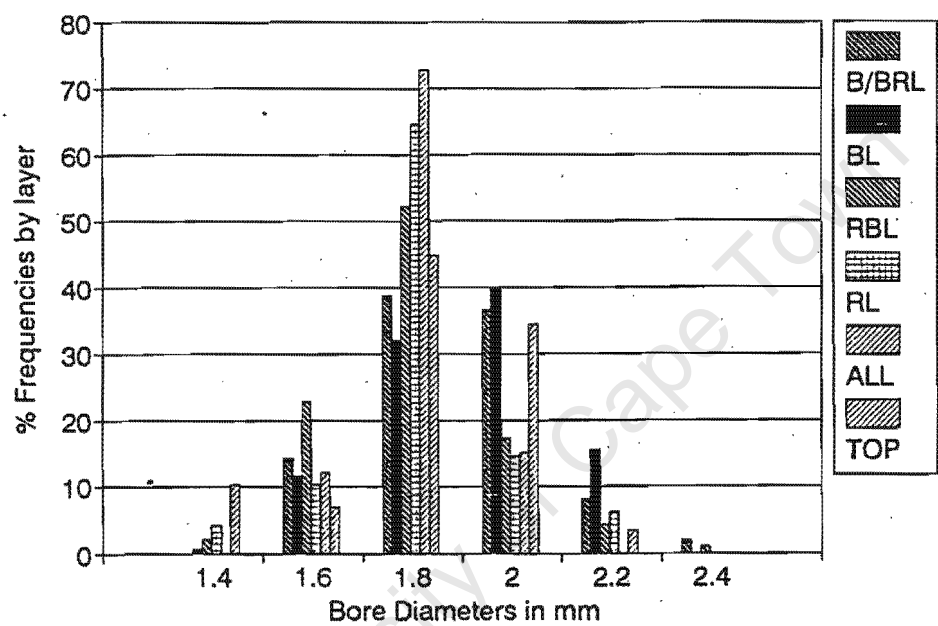


Table 23. Bore diameter frequency distribution for the whole site, all squares and layers.

The bell curve was equally valid when applied to separate layers. For the whole site the 1.8 mm stem fragments make up the largest proportion. Bore diameters of 2.4 mm (n=3), the oldest specimens, and 2.2 mm (n=34), were exclusively found around the magazine, 2.0 mm (n=120) at the edge of the artefact distribution. The 1.8 mm (n=198) bore diameter stems were found mostly within the magazine. This pattern, graphically shown in Table 24 below, supports the secondary context of the artefacts as well:

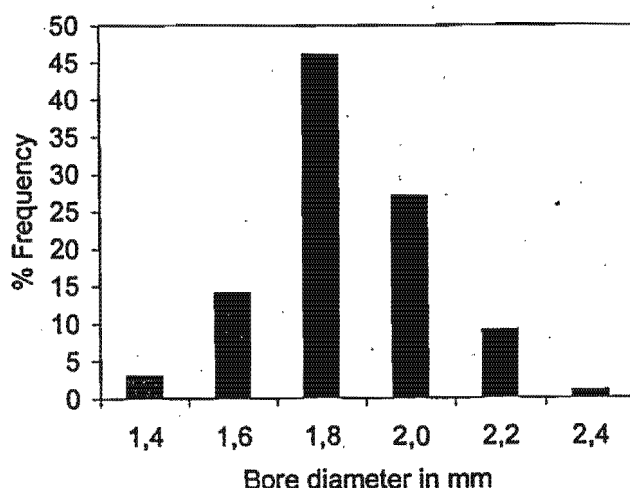


Table 24. Bore diameter distribution for six layers across the site

Table 25 provides an overview of the Dutch and British material:

Dutch bowl fragments	number	percentage
ijsslee gekroond	2	1.5%
kraan gekroond	2	1.5%
sceepje	1	0.8%
WLWT gekroond	1	0.8%
PVA	3	2.3%
16 gekroond	1	0.8%
24 gekroond	2	1.5%
<b>British bowl fragemnts</b>		
T/B on spur	1	0.8%
T/C on spur	1	0.8%
I/I on spur	2	1.5%
SL on spur	1	0.8%
six pointed star	1	0.8%
undiagnostic	31	23.8%
Undecorated bowl fragments Dutch	13	10%
Undecorated bowl fragments British/Dutch	6	4.6%
Undecorated bowl fragments British	20	15.4%
decorated British	36	28.5%
plain fragments British	5	3.8%
TOTAL (excluding stem fragments)	130	100%

Table 25. Dutch and British claypipe bowl fragments.

### 4.3.8 Building material

The large cast iron nuts, bolts and angle pieces for the re-enforcement of the structure of the guardhouse and magazine were photographed and left *in situ*. (Fig. 108) They are typical of 19<sup>th</sup> century building material, cast in the north of England and Scotland. We included in the list copper and copper alloy building material, as well as iron, lead and aluminium fragments (Fig. 109).

1 piece of brass pipe with thin wire wound around at one end.
2 wrought iron fence tops, fashioned to resemble spearheads.
3 square copper ship's nails, 40 mm long, round headed, hand made
13 square copper nails, 20 mm long, flat head, hand made.
1 piece of lead pipe.
400g of rusted iron.
4 pieces of brass pipe.
3 brass gilded curtain rings, mass produced 20 <sup>th</sup> century.
1 brass ring, unknown identity.
3 wire-type rings.
3 small bits of lead plumbing parts.
1 aluminium bottle top with green paint, 20 <sup>th</sup> century.
1 small spring

Table 26. Portable building material from York Redoubt

This collection consists of ordinary metal building material and smaller household items. Most of it is datable to the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries after the occupation of the redoubt.

The floor in the magazine was laid with wooden planks to prevent sparks going off unintentionally. The wood is tentatively identified as Deal, a Baltic timber<sup>199</sup>. To keep the gunpowder dry, the roof needed to be waterproof. A layer of shale fragment in squares J and K (Fig. 13, p 52) hint at a slate roof, but this is conjecture. The roof would have been slanted towards the frontwall to provide a decent water run-off opportunity.

<sup>199</sup> Mr Arthur Joseph, carpenter, pers. comm.





Fig. 108. Cast iron anchor for the roof of the magazine or guardhouse. York Redoubt. imported from Scotland.



Fig. 109. Building material from York Redoubt. Note the cast iron spikes from the top of the pallisades around the redoubt.

The analysis of the York Redoubt artefact material indicates that the bulk of the deposition occurred during the redoubt's occupation between 1795 and ca 1830, with some earlier material being introduced. After the site was de-commissioned, it probably served as a meeting place, stop-over on picnicks and hikes, and, after the enlargement of the upper terrace, as storage for roadbuilding material. Twentieth century artefactual material was collected only from uppermost layer, with the early nineteenth century material sealed within - what is the most likely association – secondary context.

This cultural material identified as being associated with the period just before and during the redoubt's occupation (ca 1790 to ca 1830) forms the basis for the discussions and interpretations in the following chapters.

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## CHAPTER 5

### A SOLDIER'S LIFE AT YORK REDOUBT

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"The way into a soldier's heart is through his stomach".

Old proverb.

The common British soldier at the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> century was recruited, voluntary or with the help of pressgangs, from the lowest ranks of British society. The only requirements were a minimal degree of physical fitness and a certain minimum height, which changed as demand for men rose and fell during the course of the Napoleonic Wars<sup>1</sup>. As late as 1808 service in the regular army and navy was seen as 'disadvantaged', even to being unemployed compared to other professions<sup>2</sup>. Consequently, only the 'dregs of society' enlisted or sought *refuge* in the army, ie the indigent, the lawless, the drunks and those, who were enlisted by their upper class families because "their son is either a fool or a knave ... [aristocratic] families who are poor place amiable younger sons there to keep them in that rank of gentlemen which their limited finances might otherwise refuse them ..."<sup>3</sup>. Officers and Gentlemen were on the same social standing. It also offered the growing middle classes opportunities to gain promotion in the forces.

Throughout the Napoleonic Wars the army suffered dreadful casualties. To help fill the ranks, a substantial number of non-British soldiers was recruited

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<sup>1</sup> Chandler, D. & Beckett I. (Eds.). 1994. *The Oxford Illustrated History of the British Army*. Oxford University Press, p 168. See also: The Brenthurst Library, Johannesburg. MS 242, No 2, Lord Howden's [Sir John Cradock] Military Records, order dated 14 December 1812. It was never under five feet height if the young man was broad in the chest.

<sup>2</sup> Chandler, D. op cit. p 136.

<sup>3</sup> Lenta, M. & Le Cordeur, B. (Eds.). 1999. *The Cape Diaries of Lady Anne Barnard 1799-1800, Vol.II*. Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society, Second Series, No 30, p 218.

from the continent, especially Germans, many of whom settled in the Cape<sup>4</sup>, and indigenous people from their respective British colonies.

In 1795 Frederick August, Duke of York and Albany, second eldest son of George III, became Commander-in-Chief of the British Army. He initiated a long overdue reform of the army and its constituent branches<sup>5</sup>. His main objectives included improvements for the troops in rations, health care and barrack accommodation. The brutal penal code was somewhat alleviated, but was still savage by today's standard. Figure 110, part of a "list of officers, noncommissioned officers and privates tried by Courtmartial from the date of Capture of the Colony to the 30<sup>th</sup> October 1798" makes for gruesome reading as to the offences committed and penalties meted out<sup>6</sup>. The Duke of York realised that the key to upholding discipline in the ranks lay in satisfying the troops' basic needs and regular pay. Upholding the British social order of the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, he advocated strict obedience, loyalty and passivity, having scant regard for the moral welfare and education of the ordinary soldier<sup>7</sup>. This was to change when British missionaries and settlers with liberal ideas came to South Africa in the 1820's, trying to include the lower ranks, which were mostly illiterate, in their evangelical and educational activities<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> Moriz, E. 1938. *Die Deutschen am Kap unter der holländischen Herrschaft 1652 – 1806*. Weimar: Verlag Hermann Böhlau Nachf. pp 324-325. Amongst them were the physicians Dr Friedrich Liesching and Joh. Gottlob Pösselt. The gunsmith Johannes Konzelmann and several soldiers also stayed behind to work as artisans or to farm.

<sup>5</sup> Chandler, D. op cit. pp 144-145.

<sup>6</sup> University of the Witwatersrand, A562 Folio, The Earl Macartney Papers, 1796 - 1798.

<sup>7</sup> Chandler, D. op cit. pp 144-145.

<sup>8</sup> Worden, N. van Heyningen, E & Bickford-Smith, V. 1998. *Cape Town, the Making of a City*. Cape Town: David Philip Publishers, p 129.

*Continued List of Officers, Noncommissioned Officers & Privates  
Tried by General Courtmartial at the Cape of Good Hope up to 30<sup>th</sup> Oct. 1798*

<i>Rank</i>	<i>Names</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
<i>Private</i>	<i>John Coen</i>	<i>33<sup>100</sup></i>	<i>1,000 Lashes</i>
<i>Private</i>	<i>James Gillechrist</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>1,000 Lashes</i>
<i>Private</i>	<i>William Hafford</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>1,000 Lashes</i>
<i>Private</i>	<i>Charles Helton</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>Forfeited to Anthony May</i>
<i>Private</i>	<i>James Hillier</i>	<i>30<sup>58</sup></i>	<i>1,500 Lashes</i>
<i>Private</i>	<i>Isabel Hillier</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>1,000 Lashes</i>
<i>Private</i>	<i>William Humphreys</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>Corporal Punishment</i>
<i>Private</i>	<i>John Williams</i>	<i>36<sup>48</sup></i>	<i>Sentenced death but Pardonned</i>
<i>Private</i>	<i>Robert Jennings</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>Corporal Punishment</i>
<i>Private</i>	<i>William Robert</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>Acquitted</i>
<i>Private</i>	<i>Thomas Telfer</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>Shot</i>
<i>Private</i>	<i>James Hall</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>Sentenced Death but Pardonned and sent to Anthony May -</i>

Fig. 110. Part of a "list of officers, noncommissioned officers and privates tried by Courtmartial from the date of Capture of the Colony to the 30<sup>th</sup> October 1798". (University of the Witwatersrand, A562 Folio, the Earl Macartney Papers, 1796-1798).



Long before the British soldiers had been garrisoned on a permanent basis in their various quarters at the Cape Peninsula their supply of food rations, clothing and bedding became a cause for concern for the Quartermaster General. The supply brought from Britain, especially the food rations, had to be carefully measured out until such time when the army could live off the land. The VOC had taken away, discarded or contaminated anything edible in Simon's Town. After the landing at Muizenberg, some fresh meat in the form of fat-tailed sheep had arrived unannounced and was speedily consumed. Beer and ale had always been an important part of the caloric intake of the lower ranks, and this was now readily supplied by burghers, tavern keepers and servants *en route* to Cape Town. Being mid-winter, the supply of fruit and vegetables was scarce and scurvy had already taken a high toll. The Commanding Officer of the Day, 20 August 1795, commented on the shortages in the General and Garrison Order Book:

"The men have now seen so much the inconvenience & real Distress arising from their Blankets, Provisions etc that it is hoped they will be more Cautious in this Respect in future ... [it] is impossible at present to afford them any accommodation ... [the officers] are persuaded no Stimula is necessary to induce them to go thro' [sic] the hardships of their situation with Allacrity & Cheerfulness ..."<sup>9</sup>.

But rum, the mainstay of the British army, was still in plentiful supply. The night before the attack on the Dutch forces on 23 August 1795 the "General Desired that half a Days allowance of Rum without mixture may be issued to the men this evening"<sup>10</sup>, to alleviate the stress of the forthcoming ordeals.

On their way to the Castle on 11 September the necessity arose of putting the Army "upon a short Allowance of Bread, which from tomorrow Can only be issued at two thirds of the Ordinary Allowance". The Commander-in-Chief regretted this circumstance, "but saw it only as a temporary Hardship", adding that, "such resources as may be found in the Country, shall be applied to

<sup>9</sup> Cape Archives, A316, General and Garrison Orders, p 15.

<sup>10</sup> Cape Archives, A316, op cit. p 16.

remedy [the situation] as much as possible".<sup>11</sup>

On 12 September 1795, in readiness for the last attack on the town and Castle, the Commander-in-Chief was able to provision the men again with their normal rations per day: "two thirds of a lb. of Bread & a pound of a quarter of Beef & a pound of Pork".<sup>12</sup> How this was acquired and if it was 'paid for' is not evident from the notes, but men straggling from the camp (in search of food, drink and women?), particularly plunderers were punished "in the most exemplary manner" with the cat-o-nine-tails (Fig. 111).

In November the Commanding Officers were able to direct that a portion of the food ration be "laid out in Vegetables if thought Necessary in Addition to the men's Rations"<sup>13</sup>. Vegetables and fruit had to be purchased by the men at their own cost; it did not seem to be a necessity for the troops' diet. By this time most navy and army commanders knew of the benefits of fresh fruit and vegetables for the health of their men. Every effort was made "towards Supplying what may be wanting", which consists of, at least, white bread baked from wheat and fresh meat. The future Acting Governor General F Dundas had time and again to order the local bakers to "exert themselves, to supply a sufficient quantity of proper bread for the naval Service"<sup>14</sup> and, no doubt, to the troops in general. A steady supply was vital for the moral of the troops, but it was hampered by the fact that one person held the monopoly as contractor to the military. In 1797 it was a Mr Wiely<sup>15</sup>, who supplied the Hottentot Corps with inferior bread.

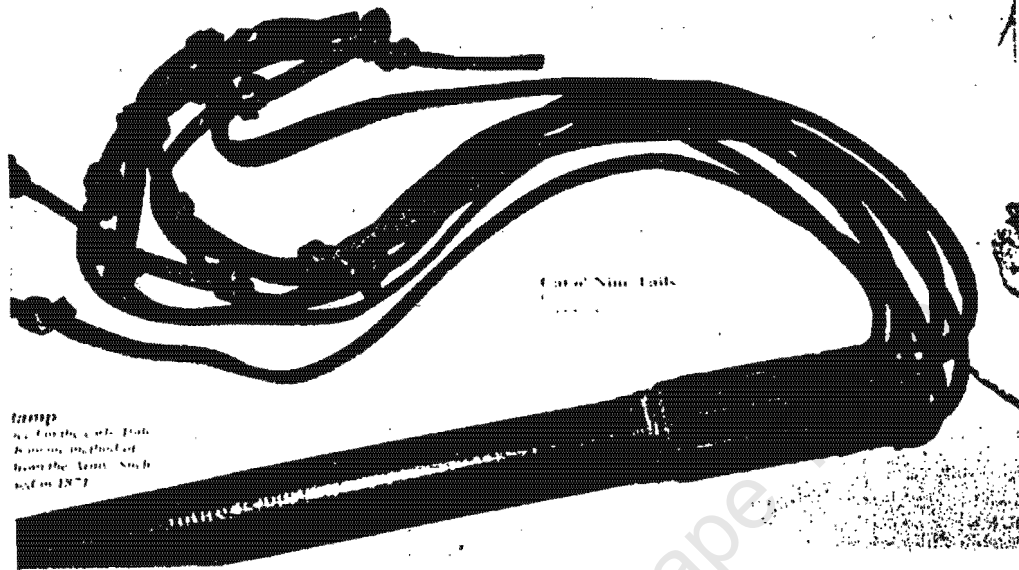
<sup>11</sup> Cape Archives, A316, op cit. p 23.

<sup>12</sup> Cape Archives, A316, op cit. p 29.

<sup>13</sup> CA, A316, Orders 16 November 1795. My emphasis.

<sup>14</sup> My emphasis. See: Phillips, H. 1972. *General Francis Dundas at the Cape, 1796 – 1803*. University of Cape Town: Unpublished BA (Hons) Research Essay, p 13.

<sup>15</sup> University of the Witwatersrand Library, The Earl Macartney Papers, A88 No 176, Note from Mr Pringle, dated 17 October 1797.



Above: The Cat, the symbol of army punishment until its abolition in 1881. (Devon and Dorset Military Museum)

Left: 'Before and After'; a macabre comment on the over-zealousness of army punishment, published in 1846 alongside a report on the death of Private Frederick White of the 7th Hussars. Twenty-seven-year-old Private White was sentenced to 150 lashes for striking a sergeant; the punishment was administered by two farriers, and after 100 strokes the 'cats' were changed for new ones. During the course of the punishment several men fainted. White walked to the hospital after the punishment was completed, and later complained of pains in the chest, but was not attended by the Medical Officer until the following day, when he was found to be dead. (Rai England Collection).

Fig. 111. Cat-o-nine-tails and its consequences. (Knight, Ian. 1996. *Go to Your God like a Soldier, the British Soldier Fighting for Empire, 1837 - 1902*. London: Greenhill Books, p 20).

The rank and file was paid at a rate of one shilling per week by the War Office which excluded rations. The shilling and half penny, which remained from their pay after deducting rations, was accounted for every two months and the balance due "to such men as have their proper Compliment of Necessaries" was paid in hard currency. Out of the one shilling per week subsistence the men had to pay for their washing and for such articles as were necessary to clean themselves, arms and 'Accoutrement' (personal outfits other than weapons and clothing); and "also for their powder etc etc for their hair"<sup>16</sup>. Until 1815 officers and other ranks had to wear their hair short on top and the sides and dressed in a little queue or pigtail behind<sup>17</sup>. The allowance made in Britain for hair powder did not extend to troops serving abroad, although at the Cape "the Men for Duty [had] to mount with their hair powdered on Sunday morning"<sup>18</sup>. Thus, there was not much pay left for recreational purposes. Extra allowances were granted to regiments for expenses such as hospital bills, £20 half-yearly, and £15 for stationary per year.

The main body of the occupation forces was lodged in the Barracks, opposite the Parade and the Castle. According to the *African Court Calendar for 1807*, "the barracks, originally intended for an hospital, for corn magazine, and wine cellars, is a large, well designed building, which, with its two wings, occupies part of one of the sides of the great square [the Grand Parade, Fig. 112]. The upper part of this building is sufficient spacious to contain 4000 men [Fig. 113]"<sup>19</sup>.

<sup>16</sup> CA, A316, Orders 16 November 1795.

<sup>17</sup> Fosten, DSV & BK. 1989. *The Thin Red Line. Uniforms of the British Army between 1751 and 1914*. London: Windrow & Greene, sixth impression, 1995, p 24.

<sup>18</sup> CA, A316, Orders 1 November 1795.

<sup>19</sup> *African Court Calendar for 1806 to 1826*. Cape Town: The South African Library, reprint 1979.

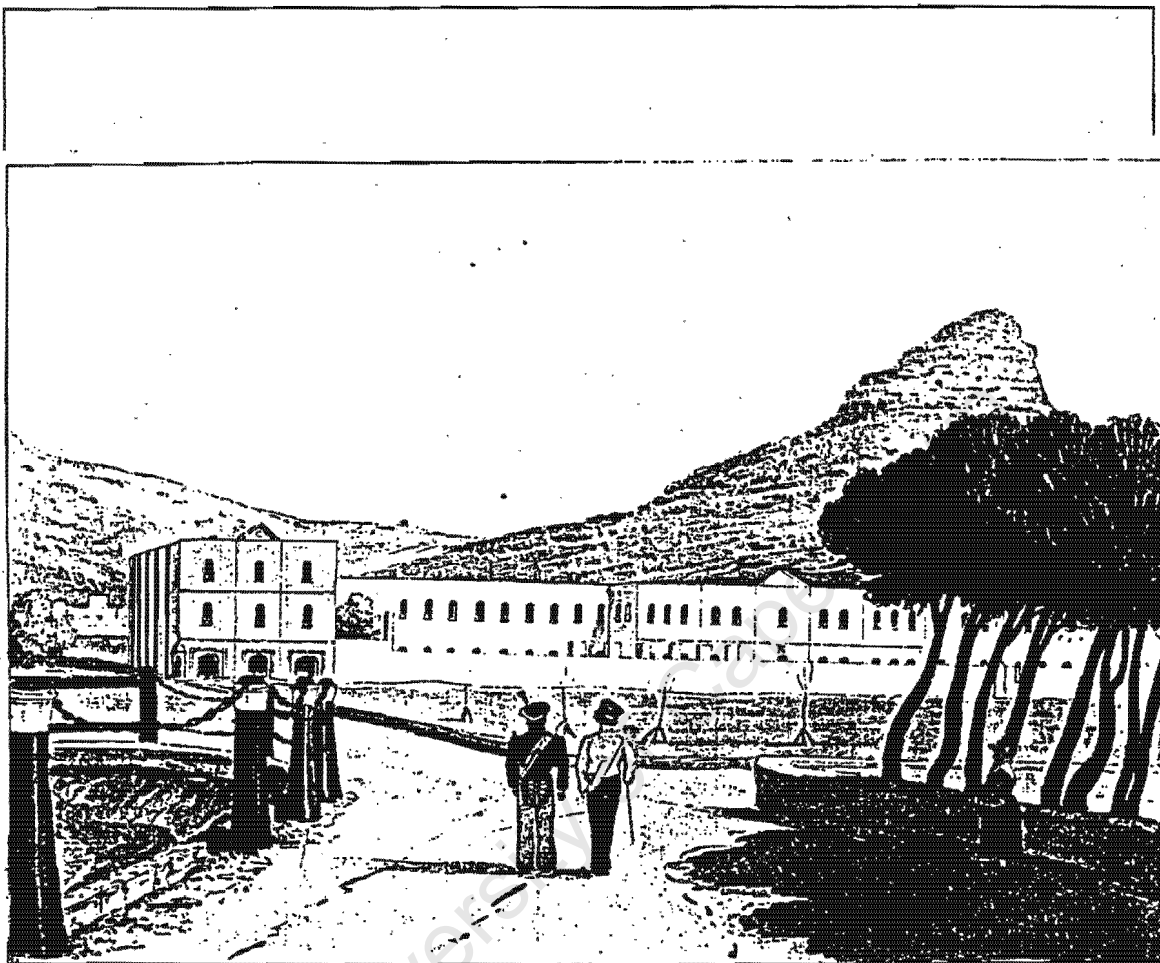


Fig. 112. The Barracks at the Grand Parade, as seen from the Castle entrance, ca 1830. (Smith, Anna. 1978. *Cape Views and Costumes*. The Brenthurst Press).



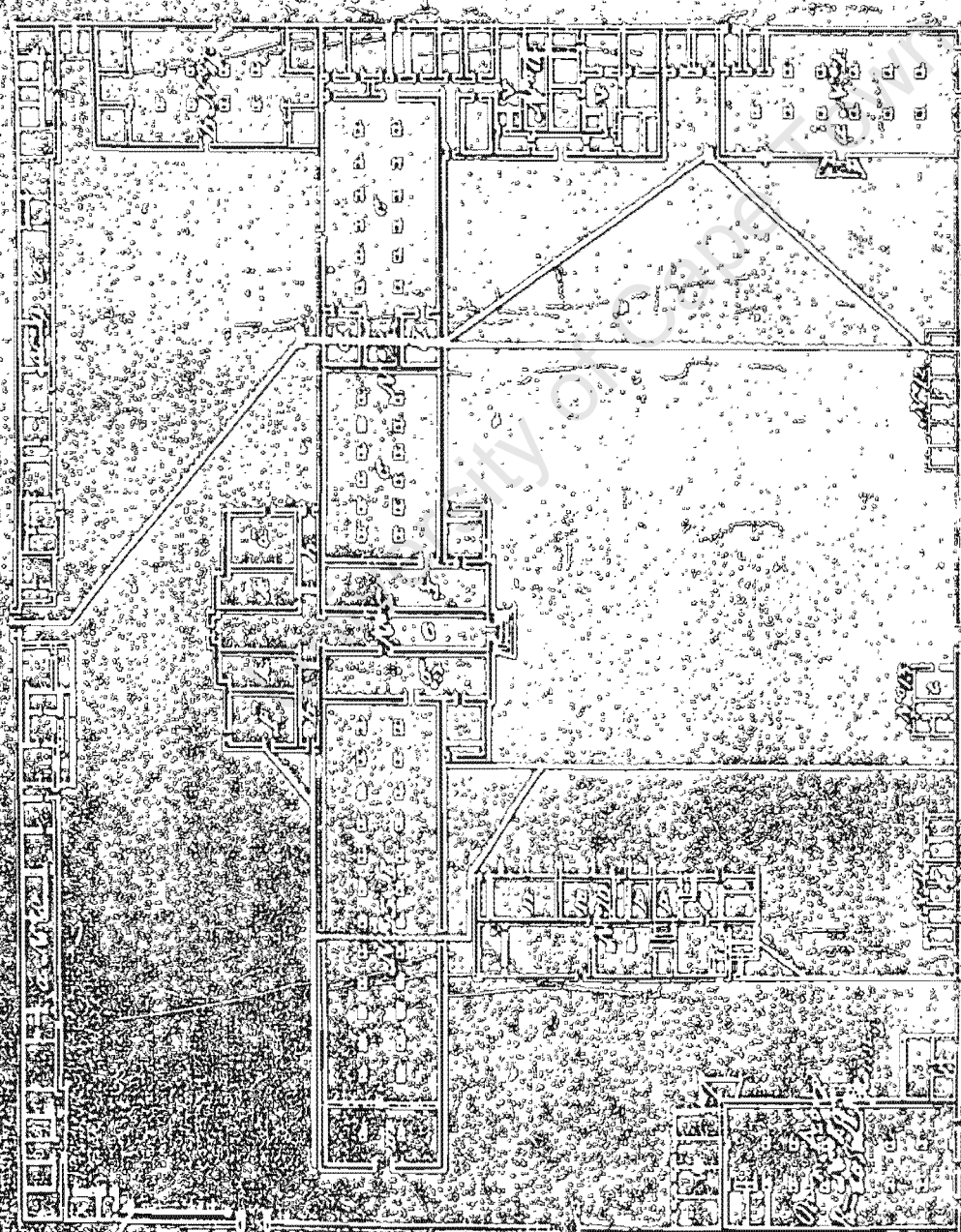


Fig. 113. Groundplan of the Main Barracks at Cape Town, 1835. (Cape Archives, M1/3763). Note the water pipes, open and covered drains.

For water pipes, open & covered drains, see plan in the margin.

See plan in the margin for the location of the water pipes, open & covered drains, and the location of the water pipes, open & covered drains.

"The Castle affords barracks for 1000 men, and lodgings for all the officers of one regiment; magazine for artillery, stores and ammunition; and most of the public offices of government are within its walls", continues the *African Court Calender of 1807*. Such was the spatial arrangement, the symbolic union of civil and military power. Troops were also stationed at camps in Simon's Town, Muizenberg, Wynberg, Hout Bay and on Robben Island.

It is by no means clear whether the soldiers at York Redoubt, probably less than an hour's march from the Castle, were billeted in the barracks or overnigheted at the guardhouse of the redoubt (Fig. 114). The guardhouse contained the basic amenities to afford warmth and shelter: a roof overhead, a fireplace for cooking and possibly hooks on the solid walls for hammocks in which British soldiers slept. Water might have been a problem in summer. A certain sum of money was set aside to carry supplies up the mountain<sup>20</sup>.

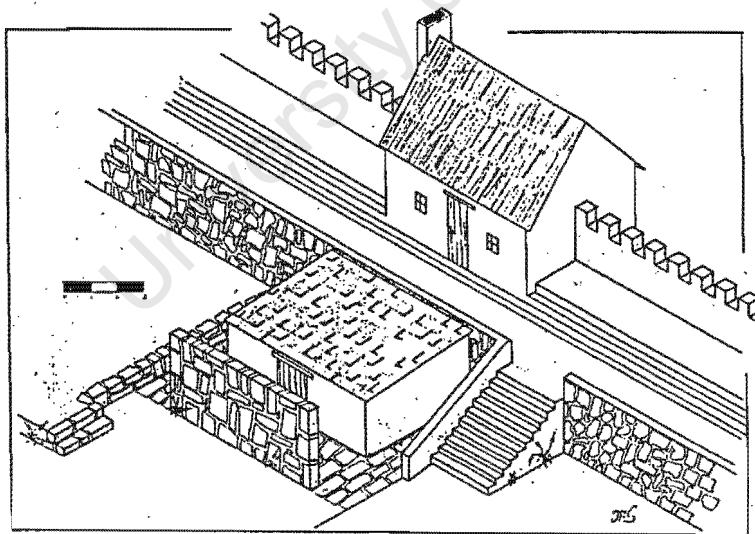


Fig. 114. York Redoubt, reconstruction by the author and drawing by Jorge E'Silva.

<sup>20</sup> University of the Witwatersrand Library, The Earl Macartney Papers, A88 (298a). For the year 1797-1798 the Commissary Generals Department spent £240 for "water supplied to the lines and outposts".

The redoubt was manned by artillerists, engineers and common infantry. Slaves were employed by the army everywhere: as fortification workers<sup>21</sup>, masons, carriers, firewood collectors, servants and messengers. Their presence was indicated at York Redoubt by re-fashioned claypipe stem mouthpieces (Fig. 107, p 184). Slaves and the very poor 'made do' with what they could recycle. What the slave boy Hoop, the property of Mr JA van Breda did in the vicinity of the King's Blockhouse on Sunday morning, 17 October 1813 will forever remain a mystery. As it happened, between the hours of five and seven he was shot "thro' the body with a musquet loaded with Ball by the Private Michael Boulger of the 83<sup>rd</sup> Regiment, in consequence of which he died in the course of the ensuing night"<sup>22</sup>. Private Boulger (garrisoned at one of the redoubts or blockhouses?) was found guilty of manslaughter and sentenced to twelve months solitary confinement in the Provost Prison at the Castle.

The regiments, which are directly visible in the archaeological record of York Redoubt, are:

- the Royal Artillery by their uniform buttons,
- the Royal Engineers by uniform buttons,
- the 38<sup>th</sup> (1<sup>st</sup> Staffordshire) Regiment of Foot, stationed at the Cape 1806-1807 and 1818-1822, by an officer's button,
- the 49<sup>th</sup> Regiment, stationed at the Cape 1816-1817, by officer's buttons, and graffiti etched on a stone slab of the guardhouse (Fig. 115),
- graffiti on stone, inscribed 55<sup>th</sup> [Regiment] (Fig. 115). The regiment was stationed at the Cape from 1823 to, at least, 1829.

The Royal Artillery, Royal Engineers and the 55<sup>th</sup> Regiment were stationed at the redoubt for some length of time. A regimental soldier from the 55<sup>th</sup> had enough time on his hands to etch his regiment's number on a stone slab of the guardhouse. Thus the archaeological record confirms the presence of members of certain regiments stationed at the Cape and listed in primary and

<sup>21</sup> University of the Witwatersrand Library, The Earl Macartney Papers, A88 No 61, report dated 5 May 1797.

<sup>22</sup> The Brenthurst Library, Johannesburg. MS 242, Lord Howden's [Sir John Cradock] Military

secondary documents. The regiments are listed in Appendix 2.

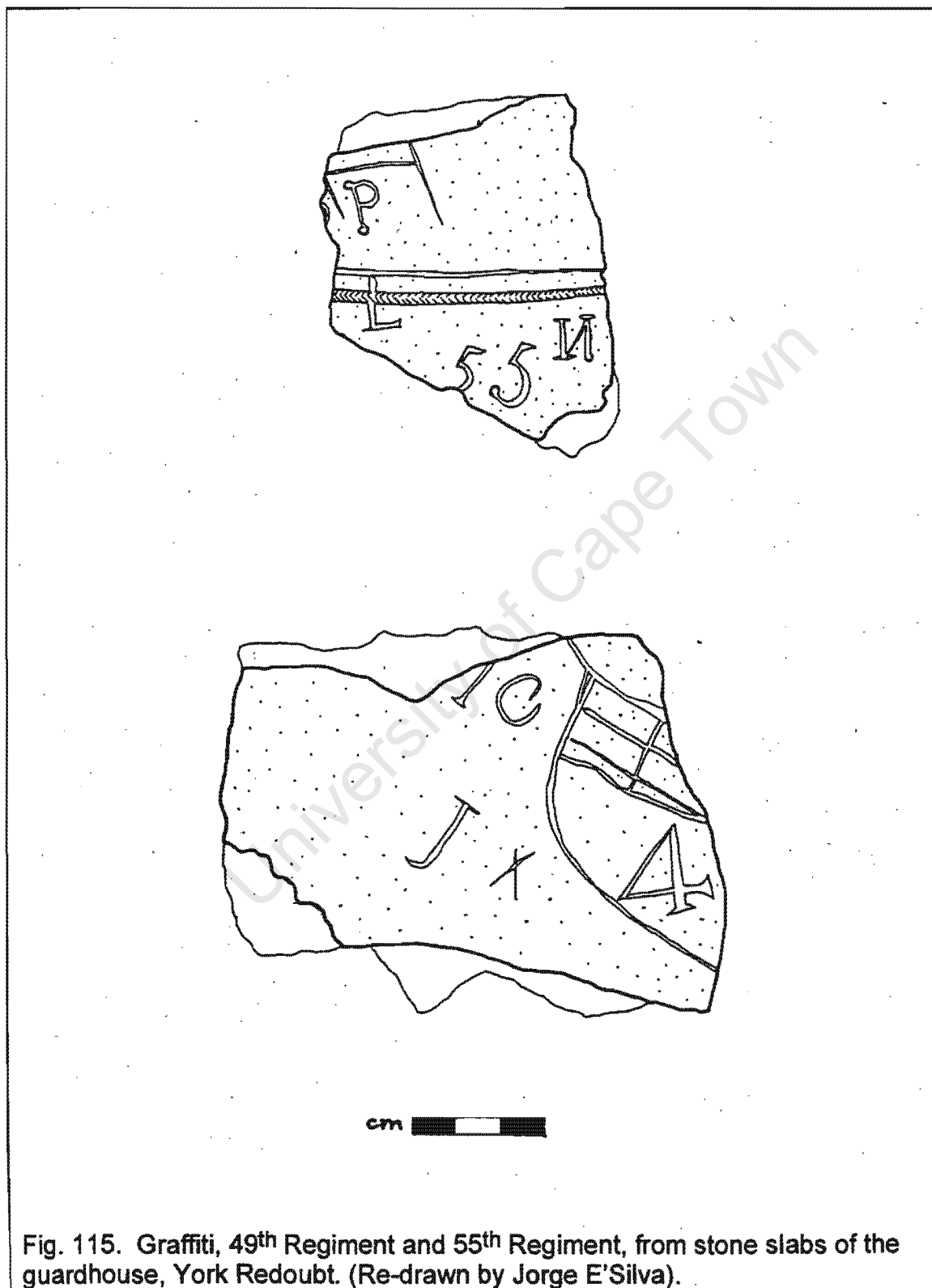


Fig. 115. Graffiti, 49<sup>th</sup> Regiment and 55<sup>th</sup> Regiment, from stone slabs of the guardhouse, York Redoubt. (Re-drawn by Jorge E'Silva).

The British army's social and hierarchical order at the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> century was fully reflected in the composition of the British regiments at the Cape and on a much smaller scale at York Redoubt. If one assumes that the regular rank and file soldier was quartered there, conditions in the guardhouse were far superior to barrack accommodation. The sleeping "space allocated for infantrymen in the barracks in the West Indies was only 23 inches in breadth"<sup>23</sup>, which would possibly hold true for the main barracks in Cape Town as well. Fresh air was restricted during the winter months when all windows were kept closed. Sanitary conditions were squalid and unhygienic. For instance, the soldiers were issued with a wooden pail to be used as a urinal as well as for washing their bodies, which was conducted at outside pumps. Thus the large cream-coloured refined earthenware bowl or handbasin found at York Redoubt could have belonged to the officer-in-charge, indicating status and rank. In 1806 "you [could] not get a common stone ware wash hand basin for under 10 shillings", wrote a Scottish officer to his uncle<sup>24</sup>, which was expensive as a soldier could only spend 1 shilling per week on himself. Only during the year 1800 the Royal Engineers installed separate lead pipes "for conducting the drinkwater towards the Barracks"<sup>25</sup>, an improvement as far as clean water was concerned. The Commander-in-Chief insisted on the "cleanliness of body and uniforms"<sup>26</sup>, without improving the conditions to achieve this. The army in Britain and her colonies was administered on a very tight budget.

The Barrack Regulations of 1795<sup>27</sup> listed the following equipment to be supplied for the barracks, for every 12 men:

- "1 water bucket,
- 1 candle stick,
- 1 tin can for beer,
- 1 large earthen pan for meat,

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<sup>23</sup> Chandler, op cit. p 172.

<sup>24</sup> Atkinson, C.T. 1940. Supplementary Report on the Manuscripts of Robert Graham Esq. of Fintry. Historical Manuscripts Commission 81. London: His Majesty's Stationary Office, p 77. Letter from Major John Graham to Robert Graham, dated 20 March 1806.

<sup>25</sup> Cape Archives, BO27 [51], invoice, enclosed in a letter to Sir George Yonge, dated 1 July 1800.

<sup>26</sup> Cape Archives, A316, orders dated 16 November 1795.

<sup>27</sup> Public Records Office, Kew, England, WO47/2366, Barrack Regulations, 1795, p 1045. Mrs Daphne Skinner was so kind to check the reference for me.



2 drinking horns,  
1 wooden urinal [a wooden bucket used both as urinal and washbasin],  
1 broom,  
2 iron pots,  
2 wooden lids,  
2 iron pot hooks,  
2 iron trivets [an iron tripod for a cooking pot or kettle to stand on],  
2 wooden ladles,  
1 iron flesh fork,  
1 frying pan,  
2 large bowls or platters,  
2 small bowls or porringers,  
12 trenches [flat wooden plates for food consumption],  
12 spoons".

When on camp, one camp kettle was supplied for every six men.

From Military Records we know that each soldier was supplied with a mess kit, canteen, haversack, bed or hammock, bolsters, coverlet, a blanket and two sheets<sup>28</sup>. The sheets, blankets and bolsters wore out quickly, due to infrequent and unduly heavy washing (pounding on stones in streams, soap being dear), and plain neglect, graphically described by Major B Clegg. He complained to Major Erskin, the Barrack Master in 1802, that " ... 400 pairs of sheets were left unfinished by the late Mr Squibb, Barrack Master. 1800 pairs of sheets had been paid for to wash, afterwards washed by Serg. McLean at the recommendation of the Quartermaster General"<sup>29</sup>. The remainder were washed by Mrs Squibb, widow of the late Barrack Master with the use of barrack slaves. The sheets had been left unwashed for three months, despite orders to change and wash them every three weeks<sup>30</sup>. Apart from the illegal use of the barrack slaves, which were under the command of the military and not a civilian, she was found to overcharge the quartermaster's office. Sheets and articles of bedding, which were condemned as unfit for further service were sold by public auction<sup>31</sup>! There was obviously a demand for even the most worn rags. Captain William Bligh, commander of the *Bounty*, described the lack of compassion amongst the

<sup>28</sup> Public Records Office, Kew, op cit. WO47/2366, 45230/171, dated 1 January 1774. This was the supply for troops in Great Britain, which would be extended to the overseas stations. See also: Fosten, op cit. p 27.

<sup>29</sup> Cape Archives, BO27 [131], letter dated 18 June 1802.

<sup>30</sup> Cape Archives, A316, op cit. order dated 3 February 1796.

<sup>31</sup> The Brenthurst Library, Johannesburg. MS 242, No 2, Lord Howden's [Sir John Cradock] Military Records, order dated 22 October 1813.

owners of slaves in Simon's Town in 1788:

"... it is distressing to see some of [the slaves] carrying Weighty burdens naked, or what is worse in such rags that one would imagine could not fail to reproach the owners of a want of decency"<sup>32</sup>,

His observations would have been equally valid during the first years of the occupation until 1806 and thereafter in the country districts, out of sight of British eyes.

The York Redoubt guardhouse could have accommodated three hammocks or bedsteads. Since no dressed stone from the walls of the guardhouse with the remains of a hook or artificial hole for one was excavated, it could not be taken for granted that hammocks and bedding were used there.

Relating the artefactual assemblage from York Redoubt to the general barrack provision list for the British army and related documentary evidence it seems immediately obvious, that there are great many contradictions between the two. This could be due to the fact that only a limited number of documents was available because of research grant constraints<sup>33</sup>. To facilitate comparisons those items dated with some certainty to after the redoubt's occupation were omitted, as were those not used by the British military, for instance, stonetools and their cores.

Of the supply for soldiers according to the Barrack Regulations of 1795 little has survived in the York Redoubt record. The wooden items, such as the trenchers, ladles and buckets would have perished. Candles, paper and bedding material left no trace. Candles were issued according to rank: "Officers to receive one candle to a room, sub-alterns one candle per two persons to a room, both without time limits; and the rank and file were issued

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<sup>32</sup> Kennedy, Gavin. 1989. *Captain Bligh, the Man and his Mutinies*. Great Britain: Duckworth, p 31.

<sup>33</sup> The majority of the documents pertaining to the British Army supply regulations are housed in the Public Records Office, Kew, London.

with one and a half pounds [sic] per room of 12 men per week in winter<sup>34n</sup>.

Table 27 provides an overview of the category of items supplied and actually recovered.

<u>Documentary evidence</u> (taken from sources mentioned in the text)	<u>Archaeological record</u> (taken from sources mentioned in the text)
1 water bucket,	
1 candle stick,	
1 tin can for beer,	tin can remains, ie canteen or mess kit
1 large earthen pan for meat,	fragments present
2 drinking horns,	
1 wooden urinal [a wooden bucket used both as urinal and washbasin],	
1 broom,	
2 iron pots,	fragments present
2 wooden lids,	
2 iron pot hooks,	fragments present
2 iron trivets [an iron tripod for a cooking pot or kettle to stand on],	fragments present
2 wooden ladles,	
1 iron flesh fork,	possibly present
1 frying pan,	
2 large bowls or platters,	fragments present
2 small bowls or porringers,	fragments present
12 trenchers [flat wooden plates for food consumption],	
12 spoons	present as metal spoons and handles
when on camp, one camp kettle was supplied per six men.	
messkit, canteen	fragments present
haversack	the metal parts survived
hammocks or bedsteads	
bolsters	
blankets and coverlets	
sheets	
stationary	quill, slateboard, slatepencil, inkbottle
scissors	fragments present
thimbles	fragments present

Table 27. Comparison of British military supply list for 12 men and artefactual remains from York Redoubt (see also Appendix 3).

In spring, summer and autumn the amount of candles was reduced according to daylight hours. The candles were made from the fat of the fat-tailed sheep, so valued by the inhabitants of the Cape. In 1799 Lady Anne Barnard commented sarcastically that, when visiting in winter, "the House of Mr Cloete

<sup>34</sup> Cape Archives, A316, op cit. orders 26 November 1795.

at Constantia was largely lighted up with plenty of mutton fat<sup>35</sup>.

What seems clear though was that a number of military personnel and civilians spent a large amount of time at York Redoubt, eating, drinking, socialising and keeping themselves occupied as best they could. Service in the British Army at the Cape consisted of monotonous routine.

Time seemed to hang heavy on the garrison at York Redoubt. When not being occupied with clearing the grounds the rank and file built and repaired the fortification works. Plumbing materials, copper nails, pieces of iron tubing, rusted hooks and broken tools were found amongst the artefactual collection. Apart from artillery practice and drill, keeping records on slates and paper with quills and ink (slate, slate pencils, inkbottles and quills formed part of the archaeological assemblage), the rank and file were idle a great deal of the time.

The soldiers' leisure time at the redoubt was filled with deadshot pouring and small game hunting. Games of domino were played and music made, using a jew's harp and probably a hand-carved recorder. Buttons were manufactured from bone with pocketknives for own use and sale, as were handles for cutlery and an ornamental nameplate. The soldiers mended their clothes with a sockdarn, made from a cowrie shell and used thimbles and scissors, which were supplied by the army. Smoking tobacco in claypipes, imported from The Netherlands and Britain was a favorite pastime. Some people smoked indigenous weeds such as *dagga*, the local variation of *Cannabis*, in a bone pipe, as San people still do today (Fig. 61, p 126). And they carved their regimental numbers, names and initials into stone: Jon? L?, W L, J M, ?NRA. J, ?IC, MCL, WAR?, SSR?, DT, ENS, as well as geometric scribbles, signs and symbols (Figs. 116 and 117). Some of the graffiti seems to have been executed by people who had little practice of writing, unsuitable tools or were in a hurry.

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<sup>35</sup> Lenta, M. & Le Cordeur, B. 1999. *The Cape Diaries of Lady Anne Barnard, Vol II, 1799-1800*. Cape Town: van Riebeeck Society, Second Series, No 30, p 278.

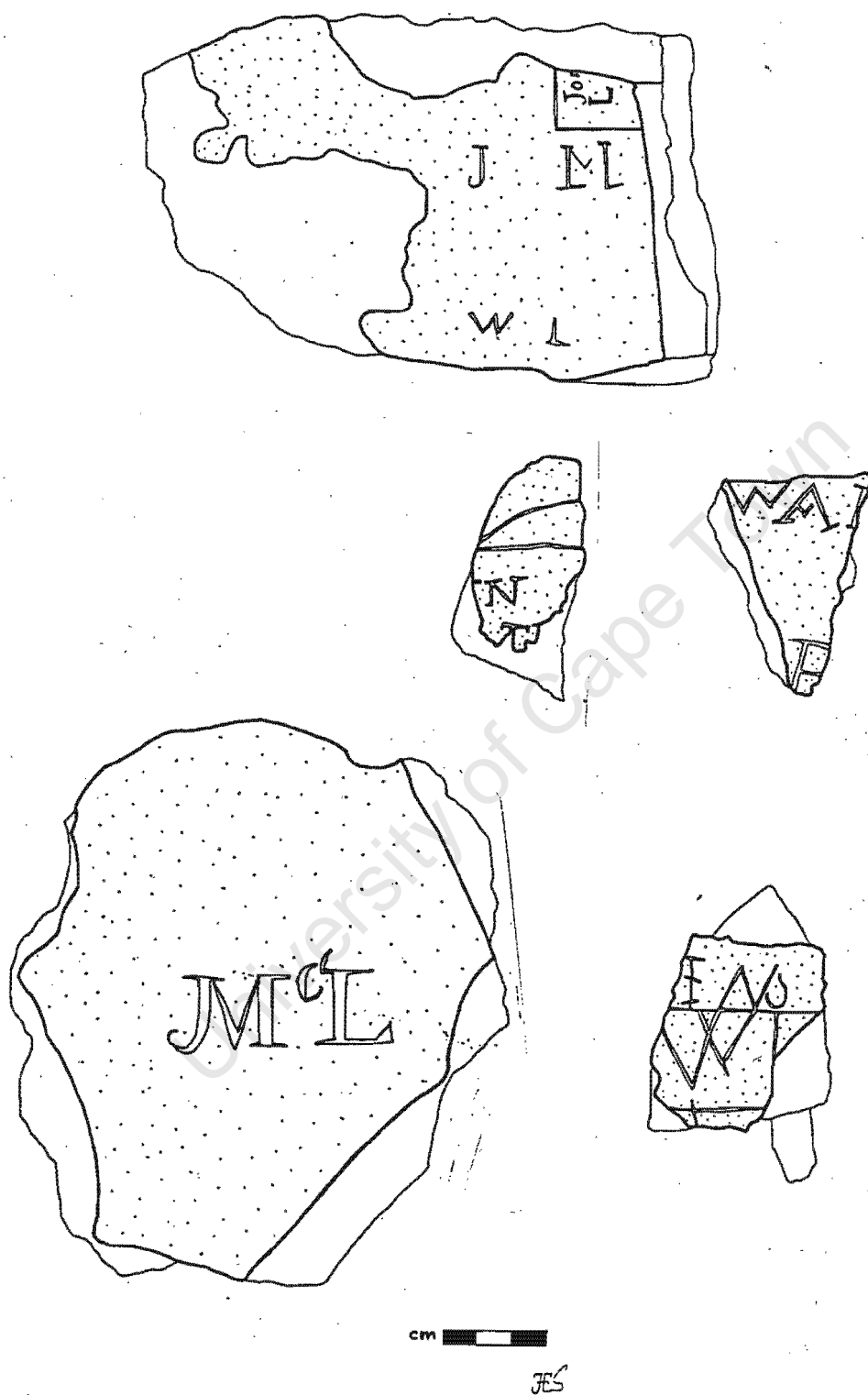


Fig. 116. Graffiti from the stone slabs of the guardhouse at York Redoubt. (Redrawn by Jorge E'Silva).



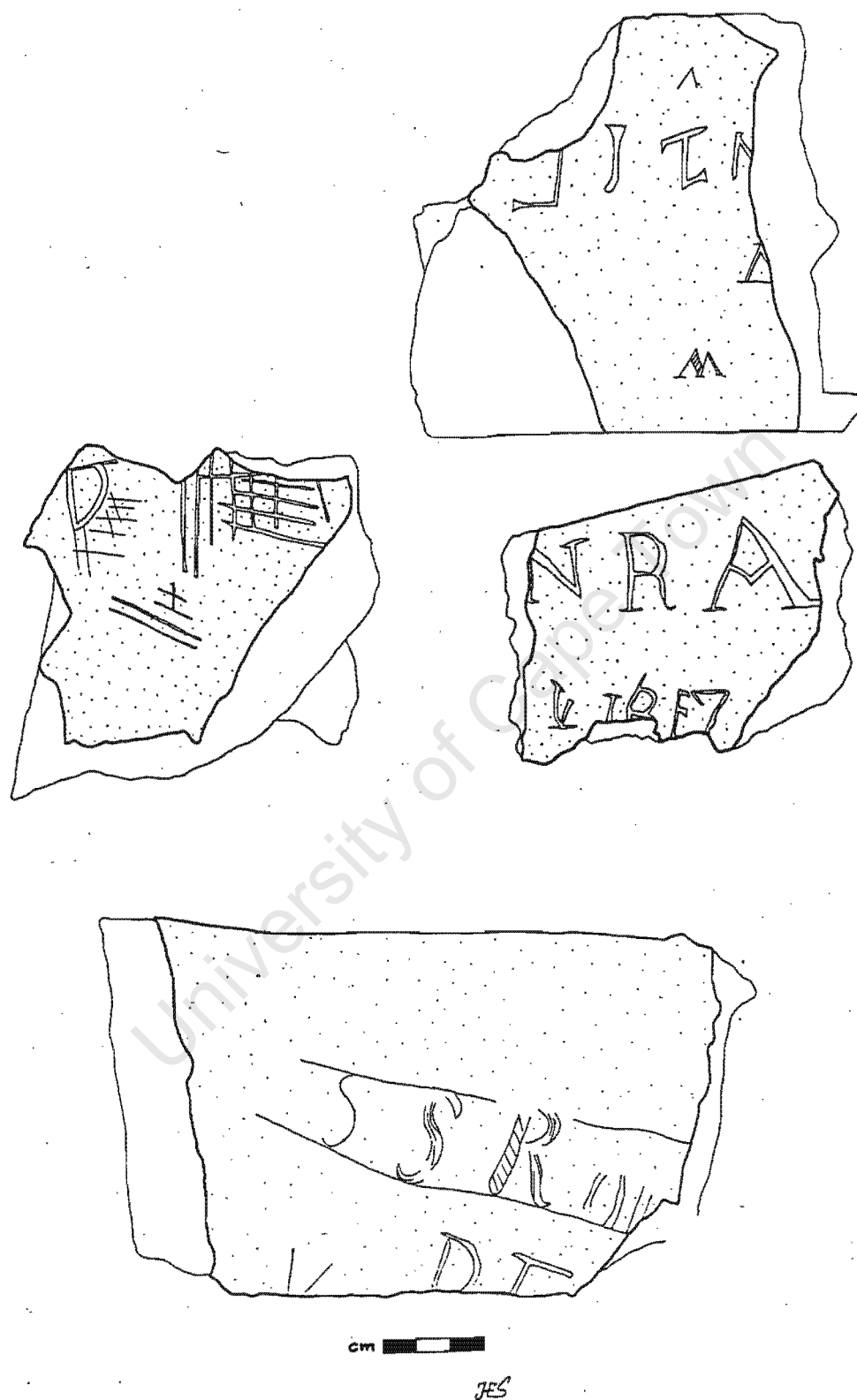


Fig. 117. More graffiti from the guardhouse, York Redoubt (Redrawn by Jorge E'Silva).

In this kind of situation food becomes tremendously important. Cooking, eating and drinking occupied much of the York Redoubt garrison and visitors' time. Soldiers got fed regularly (one of the attractions of enlistment in the later 18<sup>th</sup> century), they did not starve to death, but they also did not grow fat. It was said that, "when a man entered a soldier's life he should have parted with half his stomach"<sup>36</sup>. Yet, until 1840 there were only two meals per day provided: the first at 7.30 a.m. which consisted of bread or rice during times of bad harvest at the Cape and coffee, the second at 12.30 p.m. which consisted of broiled meat with more bread. The Navy's rations were augmented with butter, vinegar, raisins, peas and beans<sup>37</sup>. This was probably the case for the army as well. For the rest of the day the soldiers had to fend for themselves<sup>38</sup>. In contrast to a ration of two thirds pound of bread, one pound of beef and one pound of pork per day per soldier, the indigenous Hottentot Regiment soldiers received ten and half pound of bread and nine pounds of meat per week per man<sup>39</sup>. Again, a distinction was consciously made: regimental status expressed through food distribution. It must however be stressed that the Hottentot Regiment retained a great number of campfollowers according to their customs. Wives and children numbered hundreds, which demanded to be fed and housed as well. In desperation, having to justify the high cost of maintaining his regiment, Major John Graham ordered that only one wife per soldier and their children will be accommodated. "The nuisance became at length so great, that the subsistence of the supernumerary ladies was wisely withheld", wrote a contemporary witness, unfamiliar with Khoi customs, "and these seraglios soon dispersed"<sup>40</sup>.

Coffee, sugar and vegetables were in plentiful supply on the markets in Cape

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<sup>36</sup> Farwell, Byron. 1981. *For Queen and Country, a Social History of the Victorian and Edwardian Army*. London: Allen Lane, Penguin Books Ltd, p 87.

<sup>37</sup> Barrow, Sir John. 1801. *An Account of Travels into the Interior of Southern Africa in the Years 1797 and 1798*. London: T. Cadell and W. Davies. 1804, p 241.

<sup>38</sup> Farwell, op cit, p 87.

<sup>39</sup> University of the Witwatersrand Library, The Earl Macartney Papers, A88 No 176, note by Mr Pringle, dated 17 October 1797. My emphasis.

<sup>40</sup> Prior, James. 1819. *Narrative of a Voyage in the Indian Seas in the Nisus Frigate ... during the years 1810 and 1811*. London: Printed for Richard Phillips, 1819, p 7.

Town after 1806<sup>41</sup>. "Unfortunately we could not persuade the Dutch to plant potatoes for the provisioning of the troops", wrote a British officer in 1801, who knew how much British soldiers missed their daily ration of potatoes<sup>42</sup>.

Eventually, on 23 October 1811, Sir John Cradock, the new Governor of the Cape ordered the Officers Commanding Regiments to make arrangements to supply "as large a portion of vegetables upon two days of the week, as well as a portion of salt, as their subsistence will admit"<sup>43</sup>.

The archaeological record reflects in some detail, in quality and quantity, only the meat, fish and mollusks processed and consumed at York Redoubt. No plant remains were found, which could be assigned with any degree of certainty to the period of occupation. The military contracted buyers to get meat at the lowest prices, but all butchering had to be done at the government shambles at the beach below the Parade<sup>44</sup>. At times, when the official supply was erratic, government troops had to buy their meat directly at the shambles from private butchers<sup>45</sup>. The squadron at the Cape, ie the Royal Navy and merchant seamen alone, some 3000 men, consumed 1 085 266 pounds of fresh meat during 1797<sup>46</sup>, a not unreasonable amount for its time.

It might be prudent at this stage to compare the food supply extracted from official documents with the food remains found at York Redoubt. Food was, off course, also cooked, served, stored and eaten, brought in or taken away and/or disposed off elsewhere. Generally, food did not survive in the archaeological record of military sites, the rubbish dump was located outside the living and working areas for sanitary reasons. The faunal material from York Redoubt proved the exception. The secondary nature of the archaeological deposit prohibited us from distinguishing plant remains, which

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<sup>41</sup> The Brenthurst Library, Lieut. William Warre Papers, MS64/14, dated only as '1814'. William Warre was Deputy Quartermaster General at the Cape from 1814-1820.

<sup>42</sup> Percival, R. op cit, p 144.

<sup>43</sup> The Brenthurst Library, Lord Howden (Sir John Cradock) Military Records, MS 242, General Orders from Headquarters, order dated 23.10.1811.

<sup>44</sup> Graf, O.H.T. 1996. *Zooarchaeological Analysis of an Urban Refuse Dump in Cape Town's Waterside at the Turn of the 19th century*. University of Cape Town: Unpublished MA thesis, pp 61-62.

<sup>45</sup> Graf, O.H.T. 1996. op cit, p 18.

were discarded during as opposed to after the redoubt's occupation.

Therefore the collection is but a fraction of what was consumed. Table 28 compares the documentary with the archaeological record as far as quality is concerned.

Official supply / documentary evidence

rum, wine, spirits, brandy, whiskey and beer  
coffee,  
bread (preferably baked from wheatflour)  
rice,  
fresh vegetables and fruit,  
dried peas and beans,  
raisins,  
meat in the form of beef, mutton and pork,  
  
butter  
vinegar and salt  
sugar

Archaeological record

their containers are present  
coffeepot and lid

present,  
also game, mollusks and fish

Table 28. Comparison of official food supply and archaeological remains of food at York Redoubt (see also Appendix 3).

The preparation of meals was conducted at the fireplace / hearth in the guardhouse or grilled (barbecued) over a fire outside. The large amount of bones - compared to domestic sites in and around Cape Town - some 16kg, reflects what the army supplied: meat, meat and more meat consisting of fat mutton, some beef and pork. The latter might have been supplied boneless, hence the low proportion of pork bones in the assemblage. The gelatin from the pork bone extremities would have been highly valued by those soldiers coming from farming communities. Yet, Englishmen were and are fond of their pork sausages and bacon. From the Military Records of Lord Howden we know that stores of "condemned issued of beef and pork" were destroyed<sup>47</sup>. So, by 1813 at least, pork was freely available.

The frequency of body parts "show the sort of differentiation that is so characteristic of faunal assemblages from Cape sites, which displays class

<sup>46</sup> Barrow, op cit, p 241.

<sup>47</sup> The Brenthurst Library, Lord Howden (Sir John Cradock) Military Records, MS 242, General Orders from Headquarters, dated 12.6.1813.

distinction and status"<sup>48</sup>. It seems that the meat arrived in portions at the site, not on the hoof. The majority of body parts consumed at York Redoubt consisted of muttonheads, ribs and lower extremities. Ribs and lower extremities could have been grilled (barbecued), used for stews and soup, since most bones were cut up into small pieces to fit into the cooking vessel, probably an iron tripod and for small amounts the coarse earthenware cooking pots. "The colony has so much meat that even in the town the butchers only take the tongues out of the heads, and the rest of the head, complete with the horns, is thrown away", observed WM Golovnin in 1808/9<sup>49</sup>. The head and brains of sheep were thought of as a delicacy by the poorer classes and are still very cheap. The York Redoubt's archaeological record would not show the innards and entrails of butchered animals which were eaten by the poor. In 1788, Captain Bligh, speaking for the officer class who came before and after him, expressed his disgust of the custom of the lower classes at the Cape "of picking up the most offensive offal and claim them for food"<sup>50</sup>. Less palatable marine birds could have been scavenged from the beach, making a change in the monotonous diet.

The mollusks were gathered and fish was caught in Table Bay and False Bay. Fishermen and slaves provided this vital supplement to the soldiers' diet for a small price. According to Hall, "food can be seen as rich in meaning and aquatic resources can be set alongside the preparation of ... cuts of beef, pork and mutton in showing how the ... elite ... signified, in everyday terms, how they were different from common soldiers and slaves"<sup>51</sup>. Mollusks and fish were ranked lowest in status and economic scale of food. Lady Anne Barnard could not understand why this was the case and remarked in her diary: "[the slaves added to their meal] a little mutton tail ... and plenty of the

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<sup>48</sup> Hall, Martin. 1991. *Material Culture as Text: a Way of comparing Things*. University of Cape Town: Historical Archaeology Research Group Seminar, 6.3.1991.

<sup>49</sup> Golovnin VM. 1964. *Detained in Simon's Bay, the Story of the Detention of the Imperial Russian Sloop Diana, April 1808 – May 1809*. Cape Town: Friends of the South African Library, p 41.

<sup>50</sup> Kennedy, Gavin, op cit. p 32. Logbook of the *Bounty*, remarks made at False Bay, 1788.

<sup>51</sup> Hall, Martin. 1991. Fish and the Fisherman, *Archaeology and Art: Cape Town as seen by Bowler, D'Oyly and De Meillon. South African Journal of Art and Architectural History* 2 (3 & 4): 78-88.



fish called snook which I thought, when salted and dried was one of the best fish at the Cape, tho' I durst [sic] not have named it to Mrs Campbell as its price was so VULGARLY cheap..."<sup>52</sup> James Ewart found in 1814 that fish was plentiful: "Hottentot fish, snoek, stienbrass, harders (a fish similar to mackerel), and roman fish ... [are] consequently very cheap and form the principal food for the slaves"<sup>53</sup>. James Ewart, an officer serving in the 93<sup>rd</sup> (Highland) Regiment of Foot at the Cape, enjoyed eating all these fish. A comparison of the fish remains from York Redoubt with the documentary evidence is given in Table 29.

<u>Species</u>	<u>Common name</u>	<u>documentary evidence</u>	<u>archaeological evidence</u>
<i>Rhabdosargus globiceps</i>	White stumpnose		present
<i>Rhabdosargus globiceps</i>	Cape stumpnose		present
<i>Epinephelus adscensionis</i>	Rock cod		present
<i>Lithognathus lithognathus</i>	White steenbras	yes	present
<i>Arius feliceps</i>	catfish		present
<i>Pachymetopon blochii</i>	hottentot	yes	present
<i>Argyrosomus hololepidus</i>	Cape cod		present
	Snoek	yes	
	Roman	yes	
	Harder	yes	

Table 29. Fish species mentioned in the documents and remains found at York Redoubt.

Snoek, so abundant today in Cape waters, is missing from the York Redoubt assemblage. Snoek was regarded as 'low class', as 'slave food' and is associated with slave sites<sup>54</sup>. At the time, when York Redoubt was a military station, most slaves had converted to the Islamic faith and Snoek was considered *halaal*. Mollusks are not listed here as some shells could have

<sup>52</sup> Lewin Robinson, AM (Ed.). 1994. *Cape Journals of Lady Anne Barnard 1797-1798, Vol. I*. Cape Town: the Van Riebeeck Society, Second Series, No 24, p 223.

<sup>53</sup> Ewart, James, 1970. *James Ewart's Journal covering his Stay at the Cape of Good Hope (1811-1814)*. Cape Town: C. Struik (PTY.) LTD. p. 13.

<sup>54</sup> Hall, M. Halkett, D. Klose, J. & Ritchie, G. 1990. The Barrack Street Well: Images of a Cape Town Household in the Nineteenth Century. *South African Archaeological Bulletin* 45: 73-92.

originated from the crumbled plaster of the guardhouse and magazine walls. The lime for the plaster was burned in kilns at the beach below York Redoubt, Table Bay.

Judging from the remains of household utensils, tableware and cutlery the garrison at York Redoubt was relatively well provided. Table 30, a list of cutlery and a tin mug, although not securely dated to the redoubt's occupation, provides an overview of the soldiers' possessions, private and army issue.

#### Documentary evidence

tin can or mug

#### Archaeological record

long serving spoon  
teaspoon handles,  
ladle  
knife blades and handles  
table knives and handles  
cake forks  
table fork and handle  
present

Table 30. Mugs and cutlery supply.

No tablespoons were found, which does not mean they were not issued or used. Each soldier would have taken away his spoon in his kit, when posted elsewhere. This would also be true for the metal canteens.

Can one distinguish between tableware used by officers and those used by 'the rank and file', the enlisted men? Lynne Sussman thinks so and writes: "Acquaintance with the British military procedure and custom revealed the unlikelyhood of the rank-and-file soldier being supplied [with] such eating and drinking utensils"<sup>55</sup>. Food for the enlisted soldier was mostly cooked in large iron pots and frying pans<sup>56</sup>. It was then probably immediately consumed, given the poor food rations supplied: brown or white bread and tea or coffee for breakfast, and bread and soup / stew, made of boiled mutton or beef with vegetables for supper. The men would have been supplied with fieldkits,

<sup>55</sup> Sussman, 1978, op cit, p 94.

which included a tin cup and a tin plate, or else a wooden trencher<sup>57</sup>. The coarse earthenware cooking pots would therefore be one of the few ceramic items used regularly by the lower ranks during York Redoubt's occupation (according to Lynne Sussman). But was this the case? York Redoubt, a second-rate military outpost and lying within half an hour's ride from the Castle had no permanent officers on duty. Visiting officers and non-commissioned officers would have returned to their quarters at the Castle and dined in the officers' mess there<sup>58</sup>. In addition, York Redoubt was occupied by detachments of relatively ordinary artillery- and infantry regiments. As the redoubt was situated at the main military road up to the blockhouses, it also seemed to function as a focal point for informal socialising amongst the 'rank and file'. That leaves the men of these regiments and their visitors the purveyors and users of the 'found' tableware. The ceramics, dated to the redoubt's occupation, consists of matching sets of table- and teaware. The table- and teaware, the cutlery, together with the wineglasses and tumblers, provided a 'civilized' and homely table setting, and served as the reminders of the comforts of life 'at home', even for those enlisted men who came from desperate circumstances. How these domestic items were acquired, whether by legal means, barter, thievery, as gifts or by any other means remains uncertain.

To be able to compare the supply of York Redoubt ceramics with other military sites at the Cape colony has not been possible. To date, no studies on British military ceramic assemblages at the Cape have been conducted, which would enable me to put York Redoubt as a field station into some hierarchical system of status indicator<sup>59</sup>.

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<sup>56</sup> Sussman, 1978, op cit, p 94.

<sup>57</sup> Sussman, 1978, op cit, p 94. The trencher was a flat wooden plate, usually in the shape of a square with a round depression.

<sup>58</sup> Which is, incidentally, still in use as an officers' mess.

<sup>59</sup> Jacobs, Lorene H. 1982. Analysis of a Nineteenth Century Military Midden: The Butler's Barracks Example. *Parks Canada: Research Bulletin No 205*, November 1983. Butler's Barracks was fully garrisoned from 1812 to 1857, but occupied intermittently until 1945.

Finally, what comparison can be made between York Redoubt and military sites of the late 18<sup>th</sup> / early 19<sup>th</sup> century in other British colonies? Ceramic assemblages from two military sites in Canada have been analysed: the Butler's Barracks complex at Niagara-On-The-Lake and Fort Beauséjour, New Brunswick, located at the Canadian / United States border<sup>60</sup>. At these sites the refined earthenware and stoneware vessels were - for the most part associated with the officer's mess. The assemblages were dominated by tableware and teaware sets or at least matching pieces, consisting of undecorated cream-coloured ware dating to around 1780, shell-edged pearlware dating to about 1800 and blue underglaze transfer printed wares, decorated in the Chinoiserie style, from about 1820 onwards. At Butler's Barracks, the years 1830 to about 1860 are dominated by refined white-bodied earthenwares, decorated in the most popular fashions, such as plain, moulded rims, and blue and red transfer printed wares. Butler's Barracks ceramic collection contains two sets of toiletware, none were found at York Redoubt or Fort Beauséjour. Coarse earthenware vessels were only present in small quantities. As neither published report of these two sites available contains detailed vessel counts, it has not been possible to compare the sites in graphic form, but the similarities are striking. The difficulties of supplying large amounts of breakable tableware to far-flung regiments in Canada and the Cape were one of the reasons the assemblages seem so homogenous in both quality and, within given time periods, in appearance. This kind of plain tableware was not subject to rapidly changing fashions, but also not offending to the military's taste.

During the First British Occupation of the Cape tea drinking – in the British style -became fashionable amongst those, who counted themselves among the Dutch elite. Captain Percival, who had no great regard for the manners and customs of the Cape's inhabitants, made scathing remarks about the tea drinking habits of the locals. "The tea produced at the Dutch tables is very

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<sup>60</sup> Sussman, 1978; op cit; British-Canadian sites. See also: Jacobs, Lorene H. 1983. Analysis of a Nineteenth Century Military Midden: The Butler's Barracks Example. *Parks Canada: Research Bulletin No 205*, November 1983.

indifferent", he wrote in 1801, returning from service in India, "and is sweetened with coarse brown sugar. Every cup of tea is generally half filled with flies, which are extremely troublesome, particularly in summer. I would recommend to passengers from India, to bring their own tea and sugar on shore with them"<sup>61</sup>. The Dutch at the Cape had been drinking tea for over a hundred years using imported Chinese porcelain teacups, and so did the British soldier, drinking 'rough' from his mug or bowl. Again, as with the use of separate tableware items - soupplates and sideplates - the York Redoubt material offers us a glimpse into changing customs and refined habits: soldiers using matching, formal teaware components, including creamjugs, which suggests the use of cream or milk in the tea.

Table 31 lists the ceramics supplied by British army victualers according to documentary evidence compared to what was actually found at York Redoubt. The Chinese porcelain eating bowls and teacups were omitted, because they were imported into the Cape before the time of the British occupation. However, it does not mean, they were not recycled for use. The stoneware items all date to after 1830, as did the European porcelain.

#### Documentary evidence

Washbasin or large bowl

stationary supplied

#### Archaeological record

present

plate, large

plate, small

bowl, large

bowl, small

lidded pot / jar

cup with and without handle

saucer, with or without cupring

creamjug

tea/coffee pot/lid

jar without lid

Coarse earthenware cooking pots

inkbottle, quill, slateboard, slatepencil

Table 31. British ceramic tableware and household containers from the York Redoubt assemblage.

<sup>61</sup> Percival, op cit. pp 260-261.



During the heyday of the British occupation rum, arrack and wine were in plentiful supply. For instance, in 1797 the British Navy at the Cape, some 3000 men, officially drank 244 904 pints of spirits and 1 226 738 pints of wine<sup>62</sup>. The army would have consumed the same amounts plus approximately the same amount during off-hours. Sailors were particularly drawn to drinking "too freely for they could purchase new white wine at about a Shilling per English Gallon"<sup>63</sup>. At the Cape cheap wine was produced and consumed in ever increasing quantities and increasingly bad quality as the occupation continued.

The York Redoubt glass bottle and drinking vessel collection as listed below in Table 32 is rather interesting. None of the containers could be related directly to documentary evidence, but liquor issued officially and sold in the barrack canteens and taverns was stored and transported not only in wooden kegs but also in glass bottles. Casebottles made up 10% of the glass collection, winebottles 42%, ie 52% are liquor storage vessels dating to the first third of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

#### Documentary evidence

indirect, rum, arrack and spirits  
indirect, wine

#### Archaeological record

case bottles  
cylindrical b.  
wine glasses  
tumblers

Table 32. Indirect evidence for the drinking habits of the British army at York Redoubt.

However, it could not be established which bottles were army issue and which privately bought. The tumblers and wineglasses were certainly part of the men's formal or informal acquisitions, complementing the tableware. Wine and spirits were liberally consumed. Captain Percival was not the only one to note in his diary in 1801 that, "the distempers here chiefly proceed from a too

<sup>62</sup> Barrow, op cit. p 241.

<sup>63</sup> Cape Archives, A455 [33b(ii)], letter from J Steward to Sir William Poulteney, dated 2 April 1796.

free use of the common thin wine"<sup>64</sup>. Troops were on constant duty to patrol the streets of Cape Town in company with civilian police officers "to take up disorderly persons, and prevent any assemblages of the slaves or black inhabitants, and drunken sailors"<sup>65</sup>. This lowest section of society was deemed a constant threat to the general order of the town and station<sup>66</sup>. However, when officers got drunk and disorderly, the consensus was that it was an accepted part of being an 'officer and gentleman'. Those who overindulged were cared for by their brother officers or by their servants. The differences in drinking customs by officers and men extended also to what they drank. Officers had good wine, brandy and whiskey, the 'other ranks' gin, beer and cheap wine<sup>67</sup>.

The uniforms of the British Army, Navy, the Royal Engineers, Royal Artillery and the Hottentot Regiment were colourful and distinguished. The period discussed in this thesis saw the most extravagant approach to uniform in the history of the British Army<sup>68</sup>. Nobody considered it strange that a soldier wore a bright red coat with shoulder straps crossing conveniently in the center of his chest. Not until the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century were concessions made according to comfort of wear in hot climatic conditions. Figure 118 shows the uniform of the British Infantry of the Line in 1802, figure 119, although dated to 1775-1783, a private's uniform to illustrate the uniform parts mentioned in the text. The Royal Marines also wore red coats and white trousers, the Dragoons black coatees and white, gold, black or light blue trousers<sup>69</sup>. Each soldier had two uniforms, full dress, basically a smart uniform for parades and other important occasions and a working uniform.

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<sup>64</sup> Percival, R. op cit. p 114.

<sup>65</sup> Percival, R. op cit. p 115.

<sup>66</sup> As late as 1849 the Cape of Good Hope was listed in the Treasury accounts not as settlement or plantation but as a military and maritime station. See: Viney, G. & Brooke Simons, P. 1994. *The Cape of Good Hope 1806 to 1872*. The Brenthurst Press, p 16.

<sup>67</sup> Farwell, op cit. p 215.

<sup>68</sup> Knight, I. 1996. *Go to Your God like a Soldier, the British Soldier Fighting for Empire, 1837-1902*. London: Greenhill Books, p127

<sup>69</sup> Fosten, op cit. pp 20 – 57.



Fig. 118. Uniforms of the British Infantry of the Line, 1802. Note the uniform button of the 38th Regiment. (Fosten, *op cit.* Plate V, p 25).

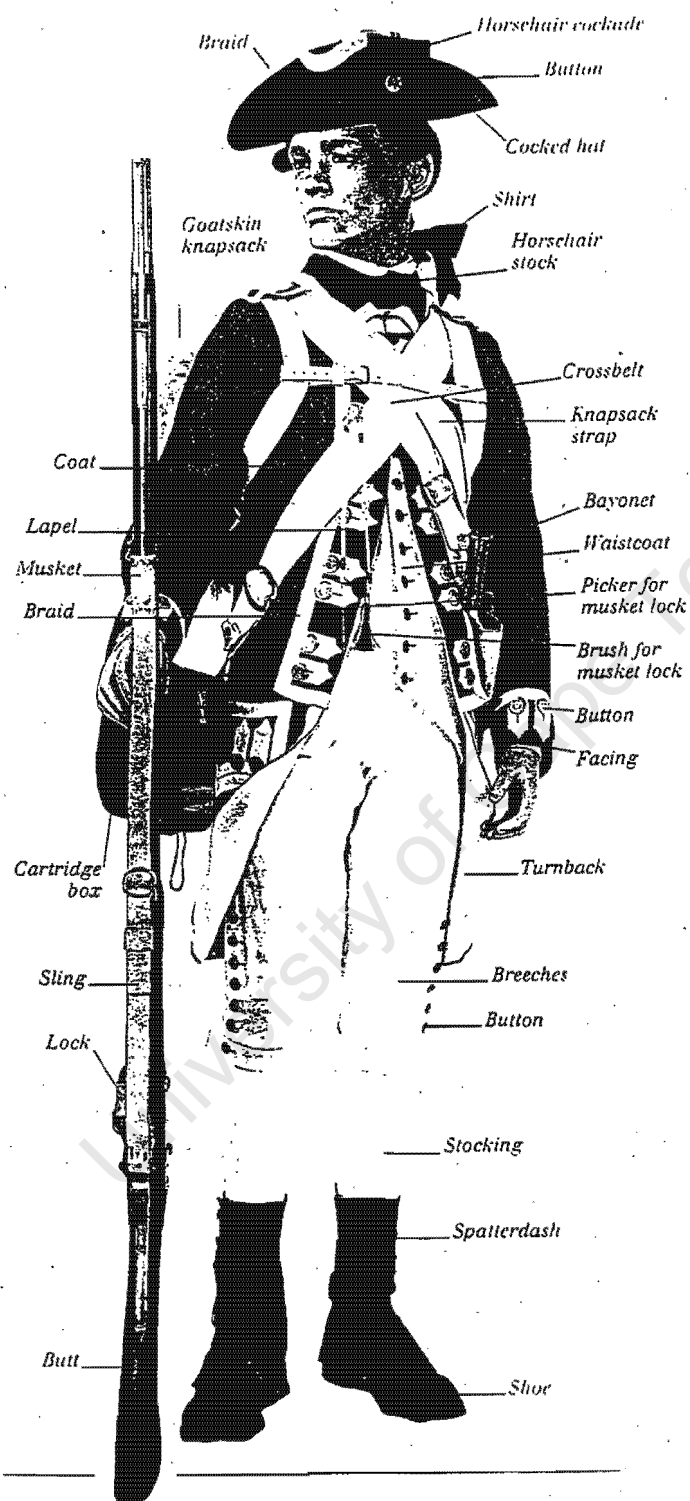


Fig. 119. Private, British Infantry, 1775-1783. The drawing illustrates the uniform parts. (Tucker, L et al. 1992. *The Visual Dictionary of Military Uniforms*. London: Dorling Kindersley, p 20).

uniform [is] gray and I flatter myself very neat: black facings and white lace, service trousers nearly the same colour as jacket"<sup>70</sup>, he wrote to his uncle.

The Hottentot Regiment was originally ordered by General Craig in 1796 to be supplied with a round hat, a short scarlet jacket with yellow cuff and collar of the same cloth as the other soldiers. "Blue Cloth pantaloons or trousers, the Jacket laced with a white lace and red and black stripe and a white button. They make their own Shoes and I gave them each two cotton shirts ... and [they] should have a common cheap Silver Epaulette for the Captains"<sup>71</sup>. No shoes were supplied, but the Hottentot soldiers – in contrast to slaves - were allowed to wear shoes, a sign of slightly higher status in the eyes of officialdom and the general public. The British soldier was supplied with a pair of sturdy boots. Eleven boot eyelets and three blakeys were all that was left of them at York Redoubt.

General Craig was well acquainted with the importance of uniform protocol and made it his business to regulate the dress code. He ordered in October 1795 that,

"the Uniform dress appointed by the King for the Troops Serving in the East Indies and which ... seems proper to Adopt here. Altho' this was not in His Majesties Contemplation when these Orders were issued, is a Jacket and Trousers with a Round Hat ... To the trousers are to be Added short black half Gaiters of Cloth with small brass Buttons, as soon as such can be procured. The Officers are to Dress in the same manner with the Addition of Black feathers to their hats and Grenadiers Officers may add a small upright white feather & those of the Infantry a small Green feather on the left Side. No officer is to mount Guard or appear on any Duty dressed otherwise than in his Uniform as above Directed & with Gloves. The Regiments are immediately to adopt a uniform mode of Carrying their Blankets when on Duty, which is not to

<sup>70</sup> Atkinson, op cit. p 79. Letter dated 27 March 1806.

<sup>71</sup> University of the Witwatersrand, Acc No A24, Craig Papers, letter from Craig to Henry



Interfer with the proper Situation of the Pouch, and the Packs or Knapsacks are not to be carried on Guard in future"<sup>72</sup>

In theory, the uniforms were required to last for - at least - two years. The reality was rather different.



Fig. 120. A Khoi soldier drawn by Lady Anne Barnard in 1800. (Lenta & Le Cordeur, (Eds). 1999. *The Cape Diaries of Lady Anne Barnard 1799-1800, Vol.II*. Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society, Second Series, No 30, p 24).

Despite specific regulations regarding uniform issue, all manner of dress was worn. The lack of regular supply of worsted cloth, Indian cotton and linen was much lamented by all commanding officers at the Cape. For example, a not uncommon site greeted Major John Graham when he joined the newly formed Cape Regiment<sup>73</sup>. In 1807, a year after most Khoi soldiers of the old Hottentot Regiment (Fig. 120 above) had been given the smart gray uniform, he wrote that, "the men are in rags, we have a parcel of old broken arms, and pieces of canvas for belts. No prospect of clothing, and when it does come, it is to be a

Dundas, dated 26 October 1796.

<sup>72</sup> Cape Archives, A316, Garrison Order 25 October 1795.

<sup>73</sup> Composed of the former members of the Hottentot Regiment and newly recruited Khoi



uniform, chosen one would suppose purposely to disgust the men, vizt. [sic] blue jackets with red cuff and collar. It is the same which they had with the Dutch, whom they detest, and the same which the generality [sic] of slaves wear in this colony<sup>74</sup>. Again, status and hierarchy signaled through uniform design and the issue or non-issue of boots and shoes.

Table 33 lists the uniform parts, which survived at York Redoubt. The contemporary visual and documentary evidence is very detailed and can not be listed here for lack of space. Figures 118 and 119 above are but two of the many examples. It must be mentioned that only metal and some leather attached to metal survived in the archaeological record, ie as fragments on straps and shoe eyelets.

#### Archaeological record

boot eyelets, 15 mm diameter, possibly military boots,  
 blakeys for large size boots, (a blakey is similar to a horseshoe, to be fitted onto boot heels),  
 shoe lace grommets, 5-6 mm diameter,  
 hook and clasp for a tunic or vest,  
 military iron buckles, greater than 300 mm wide,  
 copper alloy buckle,  
 bone crest, probably regimental, to be worn on the collar or shako,  
 officer's epaulette fragment of a gold-laced regiment and a few strands of loose gold braid.  
 finely woven gold 'lace fragment', designed according to regimental orders.  
 round silver alloy tube, ca 10mm diameter and 20mm length, oriental engravings, possible  
 from a tassel attached to an officer's shako,  
 scabbard fragment of leather, part of uniform clip or insignia,  
 belt end,  
 copper alloy belt holder,  
 metal hooks with leather fragment attached, thin, narrow straps,  
 military clasps, copper alloy with 3 holes, probably for pouches,  
 military clasp, copper alloy, with 2 holes and broken end,  
 numerous regimental, blazer, shirt and trouser buttons.

Table 33. Boot, shoe and uniform parts which survived at York Redoubt.

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soldiers.

<sup>74</sup> Atkinson, op cit. p 80. Letter from Major John Graham to Robert Graham, dated 31 May 1807.

And what about underwear? No mention of undergarments was made in the sources consulted. The account of the Württemberg Kapregiment's (at the Cape 1788 – 1791) commander, Oberst Hügel, speaks for many, when he wrote that underwear and stockings were quickly worn out due to the "kind of washing practiced at the Cape" and also, because the supply from the Netherlands consisted of materials not suited to tropical climates<sup>75</sup>.

Underclothes were definitely not worn that night in 1810, when James Prior recorded in his diary, that

"A tremendous phenomena of an Earthquake [occurred] in 1810, which created the more consternation, as nothing of the kind is recorded since 1652 ... a second quake followed and, amongst the strangest scenes, which, but for the alarm of the moment would have been ludicrous, was that of the barracks, out of all the doors and windows of which hundreds of naked men were seen tumbling over each other, hurrying to the parade, where, with the characteristic order of a military body, they formed; and one regiment kept the ground till morning ..."<sup>76</sup>

The troops' firearms consisted of pistols, cutlasses, musquets<sup>77</sup>, bayonets and swords for the officers. Cutlasses and bayonets were issued to privates, but left no trace in the archaeological record of York Redoubt. Swords were worn by officers as part of the uniform and confirmed status. Two musquet parts were found at York Redoubt. Small firearms were either legally owned by officers and 'other rank', as well as civilians, or acquired by the lower ranks for illegal purposes. Small firearms were expensive items. Gunflints for the musquets were handed out only if the used ones were returned. This accounts for the sparse number of gunflints found at the site. Broken and unusable gunflints were also sold illegally to the general public for their tinderboxes. The rifle parts and cartridges found at the site all date to after the redoubt's occupation ended in about 1829.

<sup>75</sup> Prinz, J. 1932. *Das Württembergische Kapregiment, 1786 – 1808. Die Tragödie einer Söldnerschar*. Stuttgart: no publisher mentioned, p 97.

<sup>76</sup> Prior, op cit. pp 10-11. Worden et al, op cit. p 76, put the date of the earthquake as 1809.

<sup>77</sup> Cape Archives, BO27[26-27], supply list dated 22 February 1800.

Documentary evidence

musquet

lead bullets

pistol

6 to 24 pounder canons and canon balls

24 pounder canons and canon balls

gunflints

Archaeological record

lead bullets, standard issue for the army, when York Redoubt was commissioned, small lead bullet for a pistol, iron canister or grape shot, 24-pounder iron cannon ball, gunflints

Table 34. Comparison of rifle parts, shot and cartridges found at York Redoubt with documented army issues.

Thus, from the archaeological record alone, one would not have been able to deduce the range of military technology employed by the York Redoubt garrison. It is but one example where documentary and archaeological sources complement each other to give a more comprehensive picture.

To re-iterate the points made in this chapter the following conclusions can be drawn:

- ◆ The British military at the Cape catered for the basic needs, i.e. provided the bare essentials for its rank and file, what the army command understood to be adequate shelter, clothing, food, arms and ammunition. To complement the official supply, which was generally tightly controlled, soldiers were able to acquire, and did so to a surprising degree, additional items for personal use and pleasure. To a considerable degree these enlisted men were able to re-create the comforts of homelife at York Redoubt: fine (from their perspective) table- and teaware, drinking glasses and cutlery. This included Chinese porcelain teacups and bowls from the VOC period, two pocket watches and personal mementos, which suggests a connection with the informal - possibly illegal - trading / bartering networks of the underclasses of Cape Town.
- ◆ Few components of the formal military system were present in the archaeological record in the form of arms – or parts thereof -and ammunition.
- ◆ The garrison at York Redoubt was probably relatively autonomous as far as food augmentation and -preparation was concerned. Food always plays

a pivotal role in the well-being of soldiers. The soldiers did not lack recreational beverages as evidenced by a large component of liquor bottles in the glass collection. Although we cannot say with any degree of confidence what kind of dishes were prepared and consumed, judging from the household utensils, tableware (both ceramic and glass) and cutlery excavated, meals were probably served and consumed in the manner of polite society.

- ◆ Unfavourable conditions at York Redoubt for the preservation of organic materials prevented perishable army supplies to appear in the archaeological record. Only bones and some leather fragments survived. Items for personal use were recycled, for instance claypipes, the cowrie shell and bedding. Some were taken away when soldiers left, like canteens and spoons as part of the army kit and - off course - the uniform.
- ◆ Consumables, such as soap, hair powder and candles used regularly by the soldiers could be added to the list of official supply from documents, signifying concerns with hygiene, presentation of self and personal comfort. Fuel is absent from official supply lists. The mountains and valleys around the Cape Peninsula were by this time depleted of firewood. Firewood became a valuable commodity and had to be bartered for.
- ◆ Small personal possessions and army issue - including uniform parts - manufactured from metal, bone, shell and leather survived relatively well. Scissors, thimbles, buttons, shoes, belts and straps, badges, worked bone items and pocket watch keys formed part of a rich collection of everyday items used by soldiers and other rank at the redoubt.

This, by no means complete picture of lifeways at a military post in the Cape at the turn of the nineteenth century could not have been gained from documents alone. As the years went by, and especially after 1804, Cape Town became less important as a military station - although the Castle remained the headquarters of the army - and more a thoroughfare for postings at the eastern borders. After most of the regiments were withdrawn from the Cape their legacy in terms of cultural material, professional expertise, socio-economic systems of trade and industry and their political beliefs gained

wider acceptance among the local Dutch. Most of them had, in any case, taken great advantages of the scarcity of products supplied to the military and made substantial fortunes. The significance of some of the cultural material from York Redoubt as indicators of social distinction, when private became public and being seen as having British standards counted, will be discussed in the next and final chapter.

University of Cape Town

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## CHAPTER 6

### BEYOND YORK REBOUBT

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"The respectable part of the inhabitants may be divided into two classes: first, the military ... and, secondly, the merchants: a most comprehensive word; among whom are to be found a few men, who might rank with that class on the Royal Exchange; and a vast number of the lowest order of money-getters."<sup>1</sup>

Edward Blount, Cape Town, 1821.

The presence of a professional British military force at the Cape Peninsula and environs had a subtle, and as time went on, openly overt impact on the mindscape of the local population. The artefacts left behind at York Redoubt elucidate a part of the material culture of the British occupation forces, which seldom survived the common British soldier's definition of 'what constitutes a good life on foreign duty'. Yet, York Redoubt was a peripheral station on the urban edge. As far as military sites went the Castle, the military headquarters and beyond that the whole city can be seen as a British military 'site'.

However, the British influence went beyond material goods: the way in which the army was administered and its officers and men conducted themselves professionally left a lasting impression. This was also aided by the immigration of British agents, traders and artisans. The import of British material goods, first by the army and then, as demand rose, for civilian consumption helped to disseminate ideas of the European 'enlightenment' accompanied by rational thought patterns.

The material goods, which the military left behind and which were unearthed at York Redoubt, enabled me – in conjunction with relevant documentary evidence - to:

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<sup>1</sup> Worden, N., van Heyningen, E., & Bickford-Smith, V. 1998. *Cape Town, the Making of a City*. Cape Town: David Philip Publishers, p 129.



- Use artefacts to indicate class distinctions. The makers' names on buttons not only distinguished local from European tailors and suppliers, according to their rank and status, but one was also able to deduce the wearer's social origins. Buttons with local tailors' and outfitters' names are the material expression of, amongst other factors, the evaluation of one's standing in the merchant/artisan community.
- Detect subtle differences in status of the rank and file within the British army. The army's special needs led to the creation of a distinct artisan and tradesmen class, originating in part from within the military. From the design of uniforms, uniform buttons and the supply of shoes, boots or none of the above, the status of the soldiers' regiments could be estimated: high ranking, ordinary and lastly the Hottentot Regiment at the bottom.
- Tableware, food containers and drinking glasses found at York Redoubt were conceived as highly stratified in meaning. The ceramics included matching cups and saucers, creamers, sugarbowls and teapot, cutlery and cakeforks. It was here, at the York Redoubt guardhouse, that the ordinary soldier was able to create his comfort zone in full view of passing traffic.
- The daily life 'on duty' and 'off duty' has been illustrated by the food and food containers found at York Redoubt. Food was governed by rank and status of the regiment. Official supply and actual consumption was compared and it was found that food was augmented to some extent.
- Local entrepreneurs enthusiastically embraced the economic opportunities which victualisation of the British provided.
- Establishments, licit and illicit, for the entertainment of the troops mushroomed. This led to greater opportunities for contact between the occupation troops and the lower classes of the town, sometimes with fatal consequences.
- Out in the country, 'field amusements' were mainly shared by officers, whereas ordinary soldiers were entertained by the spectacle of the killing of 'wild animals' in designated areas of the town's racecourse or military exercise yard.

Some of the points made above will be illustrated in the following sections.

## 6.1 Buttons, tailors and tradesmen: the making of an artisan class.

The British occupiers in 1795 found a society whose economy was reliant to a large extent on slave labour. In the Cape each household was more or less self-sufficient in procuring their daily needs. The local inhabitants derided manual work and avoided it as much as possible. Slave owners hired out their slaves – who were often trained in specific professions – to other households who could not afford to keep them on a permanent basis. The government also employed and trained slaves to do specific tasks, for instance as fortifications workers, masons etc<sup>2</sup>.

Free artisans and tradesmen in Cape Town were scarce and their labour expensive. Smiths and cartwrights seemed to command high wages as they were warned by Barrow “not to impose on the country boors [sic] the price of utensils necessary to carry on the business of agriculture”<sup>3</sup>, i.e. not to exploit their strong position as specialised craftsmen. The income derived by the lower classes came mostly from the keeping of boarding houses, taverns and shopkeeping activities conducted in backrooms of their houses.

As early as 1797 Mr Barrow, according to Lieut.-Col. Robert Wilson of the 20<sup>th</sup> Light Dragoons, recommended that English artisan soldiers who were willing to settle should be encouraged to do so<sup>4</sup>. “The temptation of gain, the influence of the women, the detestation of a sea voyage, on which a soldier for some uncountable reason is only half fed and therefore half famished, would induce many to accept the proposal cheerfully”, wrote Wilson in 1806, a harsh critic of the conditions under which the soldiers had to serve<sup>5</sup>. With the British regiments came their own artisans (artificers) and tradesmen. Tailors were especially valued, so much so that they were excused “from every

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<sup>2</sup> Cape Archives, A33, ‘Works performed by the Artificers in the Engineer Department from the Capture of the Cape to October 1797’.

<sup>3</sup> Barrow, Sir John. 1801. *An Account of Travels into the Interior of Southern Africa in the Years 1797 and 1798*. London: T Cadell and W Davies, 1804, p 391.

<sup>4</sup> Cape Archives, VC58, No 59. Lieut.-Col. Robert Wilson. 1806. Description of the Cape Colony in 1806. Manuscript copied by George McCall Theal, p 33.

<sup>5</sup> Lieut.-Col. Wilson obviously had not visited York Redoubt!

Description of Duty” until their special task was completed<sup>6</sup>. The officers brought their uniforms from England, and after the Napoleonic Wars ended, at least one officer had his trousers tailored in Paris (his trouser button carried the name W.R. BURN, TAILOR, PARIS). Other officers had probably been stationed in or around Wimbledon, Windsor and London (Firmin & Sons, Strand) before they were posted to South Africa and visited York Redoubt. The local merchant George Bennett became sufficiently prosperous to have his name stamped on the trouser buttons he supplied. Not only could one's standing in the community be transmitted through button “brandnames”, but military officers' careers followed from postings to postings.

In some cases soldier-artisan and –tradesmen's skills were abused by their superiors. In being ordered - for instance - to “Tan the skins of the Government sheep, which had been slaughtered for their own use, and making them up as trousers”<sup>7</sup>. Private Smith of the 83<sup>rd</sup> Regiment was regularly employed as a carpenter on the Government Farm at Groote Post near Cape Town<sup>8</sup>. The scarcity of trained civilian artisans was in many cases used to relieve well-trained artisans from the boredom of garrison duty. Lady Anne Barnard remarked in her journal, that

“In every regiment there is always a variety of handicraft Men who are equal to supply any common want, supposing one has interest to get a loan of them and in this garrison there were many”<sup>9</sup>.

Common soldiers assisted in the harvesting of grain. One private accompanied his regimental officer, Lieut. Col. Austin of the 60<sup>th</sup> Regiment as a servant to England on his, the officer's leave<sup>10</sup>. To those soldiers who had finished their stint of duty after 1806<sup>11</sup>, co-habitation with or marriage to a local

<sup>6</sup> Brenthurst Library, MS 242. Sir John Cradock Papers, Book 2, order dated 31 March 1812.

<sup>7</sup> Brenthurst Library, MS 242. Lord Howdens Military Records. Court Martial and trial of Lieut. Frederick Steitz of the 1<sup>st</sup> Battallion, 60<sup>th</sup> Regiment, Grahamstown, 6.12.1813.

<sup>8</sup> Brenthurst Library, MS 242, op cit. orders 20.7.1813.

<sup>9</sup> Lewin Robinson AL, Lenta M, & Driver D. (Eds). 1994. *The Cape Journals of Lady Anne Barnard 1797 – 1798*. Cape Town: van Riebeeck Society, Second Series, No 23, p 171.

<sup>10</sup> Brenthurst Library, MS242, op cit. granting of a special request, dated 15.12.1812.

<sup>11</sup> Between 1783 and 1806 men enlisted for life. See: Farwell, B. 1981. *For Queen and Country*. London: Allen Lane, Penguin Books, p 81.

woman was one of the main reasons to settle at the Cape.

After 1806 opportunities to engage in one's trade or profession was another reason to stay on in the colony, as economic possibilities opened up in the emerging market place of the Cape and its hinterland. These men formed the nucleus of an independent, respectable lower middle class before the second wave of British settlers arrived in the 1820's. Smiths, cartwrights, gunsmiths, coopers, saddlers, shoemakers, tailors of quality men's wear and any artisans in the shipping and building industry had good prospects. The Freemasons among the ex-soldiers met in the Society Rooms, an extension of their lodge, which provided refreshments and sport on specific days open to families and friends as well. The lodge provided stability, continuity, structure and status in their new surroundings.

## **6.2 A place to relax: taverns, brothels, "Miss Reece's Hotel" and the theatre, or 'how domino pieces, a Jew's harp and drinking vessels inform about leisure pursuits'.**

In 1797 Lady Anne Barnard, after a ball at the Castle given by Sir James Craig, wrote in her journal:

" ... I was surprised to see so small a portion of the Military ... it was the Ton [sic] of the General Officers to discountenance the subordinate ranks from mixing in Society ..."<sup>12</sup>,

continuing that as a consequence the lower rank and file was "all to a Man united in reprobating the dullness and dreariness of the place, and in these two words was to be found the pith and marrow of their objections to it"<sup>13</sup>. It is no wonder then that the troops turned to what was familiar entertainment: playing music, drinking, women and later, sports and 'games' of all sorts. Gambling with dominos, dice and cards was popular, albeit against regulations. The only game to have the approval of the King's Regulations

<sup>12</sup> Lewin Robinson et al, op cit. p 196.

<sup>13</sup> Lewin Robinson et al, op cit. p 165.

was 'Housey-Housey' or plain 'House', a form of what is today called bingo<sup>14</sup>. 'Under and Over' and 'Crown and Anchor' (often called 'Bumble and Buck' or 'Diddum Buck') were old sailors' games to relieve soldiers of their cash. In the latter the broker sat with a board or sheet with coloured figures in squares in front of him. The designs matched the figures on a set of three dice thrown from a cup. Players put their money on the figure of their choice. Even money was paid for one dice of the right figure, double for two dice and triple for three showing the same<sup>15</sup>. Corporals and other ranks messed with the ordinary soldiers and drank at the regiment's canteen (Fig. 121) when in the field, which the Cape to all intents and purposes was. In a garrison town like Cape Town the number of taverns multiplied quickly within months of the occupation to keep up the demand for entertainment.

It might have been in one of the taverns or wine houses, such as the one at the upper end of the ' [Company] garden', with a billiard table and skittle ground<sup>16</sup>, that a soldier from the garrison met his "negro girl" sweetheart, when fraternisation between the occupying troops and the locals, especially those of a darker complexion, was still frowned upon. On one side of the 'Lions Rump' was a cave, in which, Richard Renshaw reported in 1796,

"[the deserter] concealed himself with the negro girl for some months, although the most diligent search was made for him during that period. It appears he was constantly supplied with food during his abode in this place by the girl, who descended into town under cover of night, and either by soliciting charity, or committing depredations, she procured for him the necessaries of life"<sup>17</sup>.

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<sup>14</sup> Farwell, op cit. p 196.

<sup>15</sup> Farwell, op cit. p 197.

<sup>16</sup> Percival, Captain R, 1804. *An Account of the Cape of Good Hope*. New York: Negro University Press, Reprint, no date, p 122.

<sup>17</sup> Renshaw, R. 1821. *Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope, the Indian Ocean and up the Red Sea with Travels into Egypt*. Manchester: M Wilkson, Barlows Court, Third edition, pp 33-34.

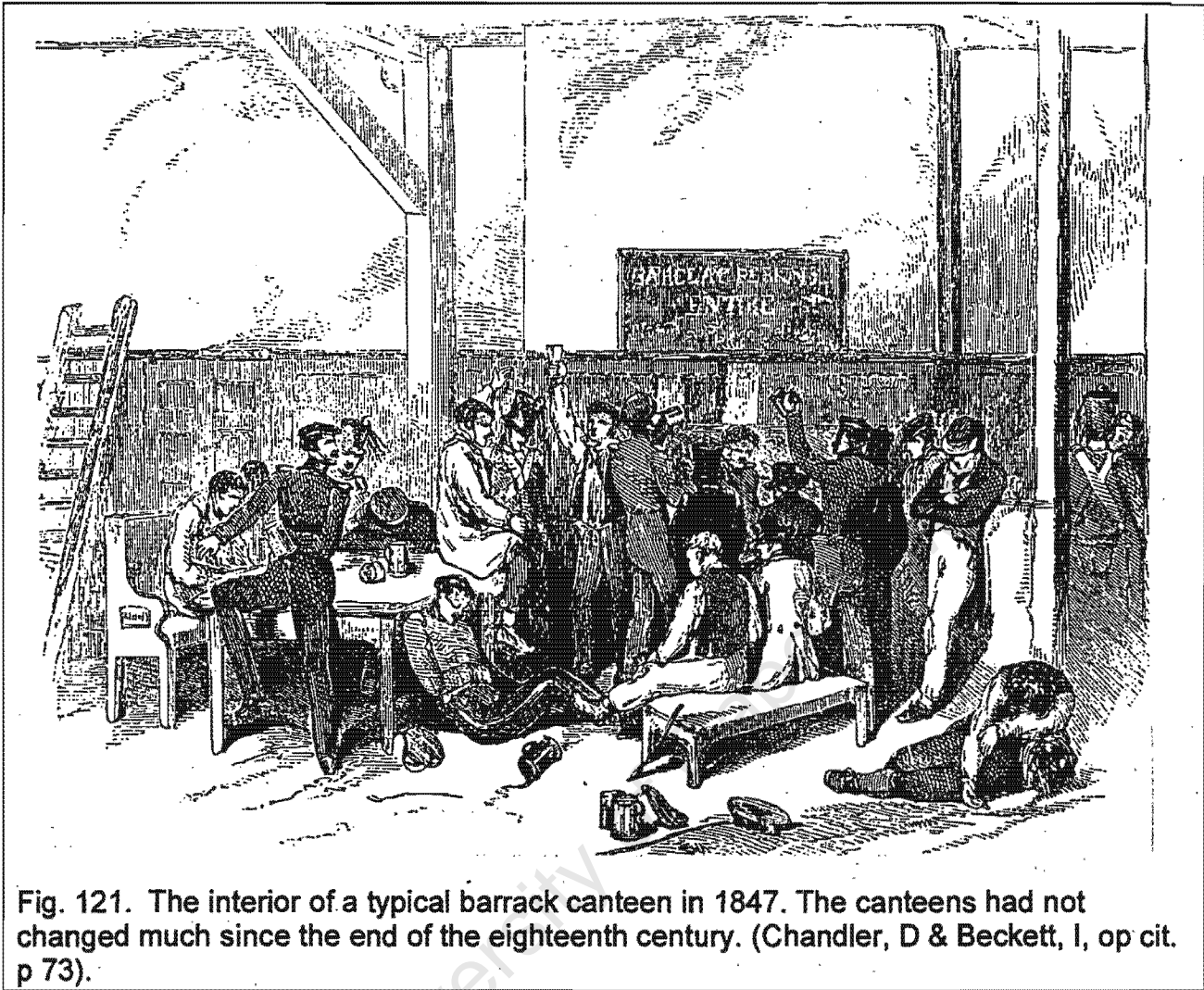


Fig. 121. The interior of a typical barrack canteen in 1847. The canteens had not changed much since the end of the eighteenth century. (Chandler, D & Beckett, I, op cit. p 73).

However, this commitment ended tragically:

"One evening ... this man having ventured too far from the place of his concealment, was observed by a sentinel on duty at a redoubt, who immediately alarmed the guard, and thereby secured him. His unhappy paramour dreaded the punishment which she supposed awaited her, in a fit of despair plunged a knife into her heart and instantly expired"<sup>18</sup>.

Renshaw did not report on the soldier's fate, because he knew that his readers were well aware that deserters were shot on the spot, with most of the garrison ordered to watch to provide an example. Enlisted men,

<sup>18</sup> Renshaw, op cit. pp 33-34.



who wanted to leave the army before their term of service expired (usually ten years), resorted to desertion and self-mutilation. In 1813, Thomas Craig of the 83<sup>rd</sup> Regiment, "deliberately wounded himself in the left arm by a musquet shot, thereby depriving or intending to deprive his King and Country of his services as a soldier". Private Craig was sentenced by court martial on 25 January 1814 "to be transferred as a felon for life"<sup>19</sup>, i.e. transported to the penal colony of New South Wales.

Commanding officers did not much care about the sexual exploits of the men except as it affected their ability to do their duty. Venereal diseases were endemic among the rank and file. Brothels were established and prostitutes were making their home close to the barracks as soon as regiments took possession of them<sup>20</sup>. The following incident illustrates this point and also, how comfortable the soldiers experienced their tour of duty at the Cape. A piece of graffiti in the Castle, on door 3 in the provost cells, reads: "MISS REECE'S HOTEL". Evidently Miss Reece was a 'lady of the night' well known to the soldiers of the garrison. A soldier went AWOL for two weeks. When he was caught, he was sentenced to two years imprisonment. Once he had served his time, he was heard to say that the two weeks with Miss Reece were more than worth the two years he spent in the cells<sup>21</sup>.

Popular social occasions were organised after 1806 to facilitate the contact between the British military and the local inhabitants across class and race barriers. Bird wrote in 1822:

"there are continual dances amongst the other orders, denominated rainbow balls, composed of each different hue in this many coloured town. The females are chiefly slave girls of the first class, and girls who have acquired their freedom; and amongst the

<sup>19</sup> Brenthurst Library, MS242, op cit. 25 January 1814

<sup>20</sup> Farwell, op cit. p 225.

<sup>21</sup> Taken directly from: Horwitz, DM. 1997. *Disreputable Fellows: Prisoners and Graffiti from the Castle Cape Town*. University of Cape Town: Unpublished BA(Hons) thesis in archaeology, p 67.

men are seen officers, merchants and young Dutchmen"<sup>22</sup>.

The officers of the garrison congregated mainly in the officers' messes in the Castle and the town, established soon after the occupation. Used exclusively by the upper ranks, who yearned for the "victuals dressed after the manner of our country", wrote Robert Percival in 1796, who came to loath Dutch cooking, the messes financially ruined many an officer. One of them was the 'Africa Club-House', membership only by subscription, where billiard tables, a whist club and "conveniences for other games of skill and chance" were to be had at a price<sup>23</sup>.

Drunkenness was a perennial problem not only amongst the rank and file. This was despite the fact that drunkenness itself was a military crime, and it was recognised that it led to other transgressions, such as desertion, dereliction of duty, insubordination and brawling<sup>24</sup>. Private Otto Ottenfield, 1<sup>st</sup> Battalion, 60<sup>th</sup> Regiment drew a knife and stabbed "with the intention of killing Private Peter van der Staff of the said regiment on or about the evening of the 20<sup>th</sup> of March 1812", presumably in a state of intoxication. Private Otto Ottenfield was sentenced "to suffer death by being hanged by the neck"<sup>25</sup>.

Drunken officers were treated more leniently, and most of the time not punished at all. An incident in central Cape Town illustrated this point nicely. Although a detainee at the Cape, the Dutch Major HG Nahuys van Burgst accompanied some ladies for an evening stroll in the Company's Garden. "It was evening and darkness had already fallen", Van Burgst wrote in his diary, "[when] I was approached by the English Major Nugent (of the 38<sup>th</sup> Regiment), who it seemed had drunk a little too much wine. When this officer's big dog started barking at and frightened my companions", a row ensued between the two men. "The officer poured forth a torrent of abuse",

<sup>22</sup> Bird, W. 1822. *The State of the Cape of Good Hope in 1822*. Facsimile reprint, Cape Town: Struik, 1966, p 166.

<sup>23</sup> Percival, op cit. p 259.

<sup>24</sup> Knight, Ian. 1996. *Go to your God like a Soldier*. London: Greenhill Books, p 19.

<sup>25</sup> Brenthurst Library, MS 242, op cit. Records of a court martial held on 2 May 1812.

whereupon van Burgst gave "free reign to his hitherto restrained anger" and a fistfight followed<sup>26</sup>. All this to the accompaniment of military music played daily for the Governor<sup>27</sup>. A duel was averted on the request of General Baird, the officer let off lightly to the disgust of Van Burgst [and us].

The recently (1801) erected African Theatre at Boeren or Hottentot Square (at present Riebeeck Square) was frequented at first only by the wives and daughters of the elite with the husbands following some time later. By 1804 a pit had been added, thus opening the theatre to the lower ranks, the entrance fee being only 2s 6d. The performers were officers from the garrison who played all the women's roles. Captain Frazer of the 60<sup>th</sup> Regiment, assistant to the Deputy Barrack Master, was at heart a man of the theatre. He played to packed houses and was the first to introduce Sheridan and Goldsmith, both great English playwrights, to the Cape. The farce, "High Life below Stairs" (Fig. 122), which was performed on night in October 1807, sent the audience home with laughter, recognising their own follies. In the play servants ape the airs and manners of their masters, using the master's name, clothes and provisions in a grand inversion of the social order<sup>28</sup>. It was still the custom for officers to be billeted in private homes, which enabled to borrow the costumes they needed for their stage productions<sup>29</sup>. "The world turned upside down", not only in the artistic, but also rhetorical, philosophical and religious world views, not unlike carnivals' re-creation of human experience of those to whom they stand in opposition<sup>30</sup>.

<sup>26</sup> Van Burgst, HG Nahuys. 1993. *Adventures at the Cape of Good Hope in 1806*. Cape Town: Friends of the South African Library, p 19.

<sup>27</sup> Cape Archives, VC58, No 59, op cit. p 11.

<sup>28</sup> Fletcher, Jill. 1994. *The Story of South African Theatre 1780 - 1930*. Cape Town: Vlaeberg, Publishers, p 41.

<sup>29</sup> Fletcher, op cit. p 35.

<sup>30</sup> Hall, Martin. 1998. 'Small Things and the Mobile, Conflictual Fusion of Power, Fear and Desire'. In: Yentsch, AE & Beaudry MC. 1998. *The Art and Mystery of Historical Archaeology, Essays in Honour of James Deetz*. Boca-Raton: CRC Press, pp 390-392.

## AFRICAN THEATRE.

THE LAST NIGHT'S PERFORMANCE for the SEASON,

Under Sanction of His Excellency the  
EARL of CALEDON;

On SATURDAY the 10th of October, 1807,  
*Will be presented, the Comedy of*

## THE BROTHERS.

## PRINCIPAL CHARACTERS.

Sr. Benjamin Dove, . . .	Capt. Frazer, 60 Regt.
Capt. Ironsides, . . .	Capt. Collins, 21 Light Drag.
Beisfield, Senior, . . .	Capt. Stock, 83 Regt.
Beisfield, Junior, . . .	Mr. Loftus, 83 Regt.
Paterfon, . . .	Mr. Wilfon, 72 Regt.
Philip, . . .	Mr. Longley, R. A.
Lady Dove, . . .	Mr. Morgan, Madras Cavalry.
Sophia Dove, . . .	Mr. Napier, R. A.
Violetta, . . .	Mr. Strawbenzee, 83 Regt.

*To which will be added the Entertainment of*

## HIGH LIFE BELOW STAIRS.

Lovel, . . .	Mr. Morgan, Madras Cavalry.
Freeman, . . .	Mr. Longley, R. A.
Philip, . . .	Capt. Stock, 83 Regt.
Tom, . . .	Mr. Hamilton, 93 Regt.
Duke's Servant, . . .	Mr. Loftus, 83 Regt.
Sr. Harry's Servant, . . .	Capt. Collins, 21 Light Drag.
Kitty, . . .	Capt. Frazer, 60 Regt.
Lady Bob's Maid, . . .	Mr. Strawbenzee, 83 Regt.
Lady Charlotte's Maid, . . .	Mr. Napier, R. A.

*Before the Play, a PROLOGUE, Written and Spoken by Capt. COLLINS, 21 L. D. After the Play, a FAREWELL ADDRESS. Written and Spoken by Capt. FRAZER, 60 Regt.*

Out with the Grey-Beard, Captain, quick I beg—  
Quick from the Sopha drag him by the leg.  
It moves my Bile to see these hoary Cheats,  
Burlesqueing Love's delicious frolic Feats.  
With trembling Hand some youthful Damsel tumbling,  
And, with their toothless Gums, her Beauties Mumbling.  
Old Age deserves Respect—and from the Old  
None would the Reverence due to Years with-hold.  
But when Old Age apes Youth—and plays the Fool—  
It then becomes a mark for Ridicule.  
You are to blame for what your Boy has done:  
A filly Father makes a filly Son.  
And as for KITTY, take it not in du'geon:  
'Twas bravely done to catch your foolish Gudgeon.  
If round her hook your Bouby would be dangling,  
The Girl was right to shew her skill in angling.  
Now from our Play to-night, one Truth I draw;  
Be what you are—is Wisdom's chiefest Law.  
On every Man Dame Nature has impress  
Some stamp of Character that suits him best.

Fig. 122. Advertisement for the plays 'The Brothers' and 'High Life below Stairs' for the African Theatre (The African Court Calendar of 1808. Cape Town: South African Library, reprint 1981).

### 6.3 The great outdoors: field amusements and 'sports'.

The 'great outdoors' at the Cape Peninsula was not without its natural dangers. Officers amused themselves with shooting and fishing parties, during which they came face to face with *tygers*, (the local leopard *Pantera pardus*), *foxes* (black backed jackal, *Canis mesomelas*), and *camel leopards* (giraffe, *Giraffe camelopardalis*). Wild animals were still encountered on the main road to Simon's Town. Richard Renshaw heard of one such encounter in 1796: " ... An officer of Dragoons, on his way from Cape Town to False Bay (a distance of about 26 miles) was attacked by a tyger ... of an enormous size, on a common which he was obliged to pass. He was fortunately on a good horse at which the tyger made a spring and tore away part of the poor beast's flesh behind ... he was able to escape with his rider to the camp at

Muizenberg, from whence some soldiers were instantly dispatched, well armed, to destroy the ferocious animal, which however made its escape"<sup>31</sup>.

At times the shooting parties or hunts got out of hand. Governor Cradock was alarmed at the behavior of his officers, declaring that,

" His Excellency ... has learned with great concern that gentlemen of the army in pursuing their field amusements have been regardless of the rights and property of the farmers ... feeling that they will desist from all proceedings of this nature"<sup>32</sup>. This disregard for "justice and the interest of the society at large", in the words of Governor Cradock was still strong in the ruling military elite.

The rank and file confined themselves to small game hunting and trapping of animals for food and "fun". Non-domesticated animals are scarce in the York Redoubt faunal assemblage. Although the British had abolished the torture of alleged criminals, animals were still being cruelly put to death in front of large audiences as a form of amusement. "The English officers had marked out a race ground near Green Point, where they were having races every month and a grand match once a year ... this has been attended with one beneficial effect to the colony ... the breed of horses has been considerably improved", wrote Percival approvingly<sup>33</sup>. The dichotomy between the caring for and breeding of horses and the cruelty inflicted on other animals in Cape society was quite unbelievable. "A Dutch boor or farmer, if he finds his cattle lazy; or stopping from fatigue, or where they meet with obstacles ... will not hesitate to draw out his great knife and score their flesh, or even cut slices off without mercy"<sup>34</sup>. Cruelty to animals was found 'revolting to humanity' when 'the Dutch' were involved, but when it amused the officers and men on the race course it was condoned, as the following incident shows. A "bear" (Chacma baboon) had been taken in a snare and presented to the Commander in Chief. In order to amuse the Officers (it being the time of the races) the Bear

<sup>31</sup> Renshaw, op cit. pp 62-63.

<sup>32</sup> Brenthurst Library A242, op cit. Letter to the military dated 21 September 1813.

<sup>33</sup> Percival, op cit. p 126.

<sup>34</sup> Percival, op cit. p 58.

was turned loose, when it was expected he would afford some diversion in the way of a hunt: but the brute when freed from his bonds, instead of attempting to get away, sat quietly on his guard against the dogs. The soldiers seeing the creature would afford them no diversion, were much disappointed, and with bayonets and sticks they soon put an end to his existence"<sup>35</sup>.

Officers and men did not engage in sports and athletic competition together. In 1806 English officers played a strange "game of ball-casting, called cricket on the level ground by the sea at the Lions Tail"<sup>36</sup>. Around 12pm they started, sometimes with more than thirty persons. A small cart with wine and food was provided to encourage "the jovial spirit" of the day. The first recorded cricket match in Cape Town was played in 1808. When early in the 19<sup>th</sup> century Lieut. Col. Robert Wilson, the author of the "Descriptions of the Cape Colony in 1806", commander of the 20<sup>th</sup> Light Dragoons, attempted to encourage sporting activities between officers and men, he was sharply reprimanded by his commanding general<sup>37</sup>. Wilson had urged his officers to play games with their men and played himself. This breach of etiquette and mingling with the lower classes must have been quite unbearable to the rest of the officer class.

#### 6.4 EVALUATION AND CONCLUSION

The impact of British taste and manners had immediate consequences. Dutch cultural norms were modified to suit the new 'masters', i.e. the hours of dining, habits of socialising, manner of dress. After some years of occupation the "Dutch had considerably improved their manners and mode of living", observed Percival condescendingly, but "it had required a good deal of persuasion ... to make them alter their hours of eating and other habits ... self-interest, the most powerful engine ... made them accommodate to the British taste"<sup>38</sup>. Through the consumption of English goods subtle distinctions in status and social aspiration was re-enforced by the agents of the colonial

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<sup>35</sup> Renshaw, op cit. p 63.

<sup>36</sup> van Burgst, op cit. p 78.

<sup>37</sup> Farwell, op cit. p 202.

<sup>38</sup> Percival, op cit. pp 266-267.



power – the military during the first decade and a half of the occupation - and the subject people, in this instance that of the European population of Cape Town and its environs. The Dutch *inwoners* had also realised to their astonishment that the English “had a well defined purse and that every English soldier possessed [money] in a very short time<sup>39</sup>”.

The arrogance of the British officers and men, who thought themselves above other nations and certainly above coloured and ‘native’ races, was not only directed at the Dutch penchant to make a profit whenever they could, but also at the local manners and habits. Yet, the *hauteur* of the British did not prevent them from praising the town, for instance to their Indian connections as a recuperation station, but also led to not accepting local fashions. The central point I am making here is, that relations of power, authority and status were entwined with those of occupiers and occupied at all levels of society, creating an imbalance in the mind of Cape Dutch society, which was to have repercussions many years later. “Making the Cape British” had begun in earnest<sup>40</sup>.

\* \* \*

At the beginning of this thesis I stated that the main aim – in broad terms – of this study was to elucidate and interpret the material remains of the British army on a very personal level in the context of the archaeology of European expansion. This work therefore continues where I had left off in my Masters of Science (in archaeology) dissertation on the fortifications of the Cape Peninsula<sup>41</sup>. What had not been dealt with in that work were the day-to-day realities of the common soldier, the practicalities of living at the southern tip of Africa. The study of the assemblage from one military site at the Cape of Good Hope, York Redoubt, built in 1795/6 and abandoned in 1829, will – hopefully – do just that and, in addition provide new insights into some of the

<sup>39</sup> Van Burgst, op cit, pp 74-75. Most of it was ‘prizemoney’.

<sup>40</sup> The expression was taken from: Magubane, Z. 1995. *The Image of the African in British Colonial Discourse, 1806 - 1850*. University of Cape Town: Africa Seminar paper delivered at the Centre for African Studies, 23 August 1995, p 23.

<sup>41</sup> Seemann, Ute A. 1993. *Forts and Fortifications at the Cape Peninsula 1781 – 1829*.

hidden aspects of the early years of the British military occupation, centered on the interpretation of the relationship between material possessions and the dynamics of social relations. This led to a discourse on the socio-economic transformation of part of the lower middle- and working class sectors of Cape society, which was conducted almost entirely in terms of the lower rank and file of the British military, i.e. enlisted men with a working class or and peasant background.

My particular purpose in this thesis has been to combine documentary sources and archaeological evidence to understand more about the everyday life of an ordinary soldier at the Cape of Good Hope at the turn of the nineteenth century. Archaeological evidence in this case has added a rich texture to the picture by revealing aspects of this everyday life that are not evident in the documentary sources alone. Details such as diet, the nature of table- and kitchenware, personal possessions of the soldiers are missing from the documents. Comparison of the archaeological discoveries with the historically documented provisions, such as food, fieldkits and general army issue illustrate the complementary character of these two data sets; whereas individually they reveal overlapping, but different parts of the same picture.

The value of the York Redoubt excavation lies in its contribution to the historical archaeology of the military component of the colonizing forces, illuminating the role that everyday items, such the ceramics and glassware were given in asserting signals of power, domination, status and social aspiration. For, after all, the material possessions acquired one way or another, have allowed ordinary soldiers of ordinary regiments at a second-rate fortification to organize, display and enjoy "the comforts of a quiet life, in a charming country, after all [the] troubles and fatigues [of military duty]"<sup>42</sup> for over thirty years.

By comparing the material culture of one military site with contemporary

evidence I have isolated some of the elements which determine the archaeological record of a minor British military site at the Cape. In contrast to military sites in North America, where ceramics and glassware were associated with the officers' mess, a similar collection of standard British military tableware was used mainly by the lower ranks of enlisted men at York Redoubt. In addition, by comparing the cultural material from York Redoubt with those from Cape Town's Barrack Street well and Sea Street, James House, I have isolated some of the taphonomic filters determining the nature of the archaeological record of a military site as opposed to a domestic site.

The historical archaeology of York Redoubt contributes a "texture" at the level of a single minor fortification work, which can often not be found in documentary sources. In this thesis I have – hopefully - constructed a "footprint" of what life looked like for an ordinary soldier at the Cape at the turn of the nineteenth century. It seems therefore that the aims of this research project were achieved with some measure of success.

The initiation of this study was met with much enthusiasm by military historians and museum curators at the Cape and elsewhere. The future direction of historical / archaeological research in the military history in South Africa could be closely tied up with the exploration of the confrontation between military cultures of the expanding European colonial forces and the indigenous black inhabitants of the Eastern Cape. A line of fortifications and trading stations erected during the "Kaffir" wars (ca 1820-1860) to separate white settlers from the 'native' tribes would yield a rich source of cultural material as well as documentary evidence.

The South African War (or *Boer War*) of 1899-1902 has recently been the focus of centenary commemorations and renewed research interests. Several battlefields, graveyards and camps for prisoners-of-war are known<sup>43</sup>, as are lines of British blockhouses and small redoubts linked by barbed wire. These

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Cape Town: Department of Extra Mural Studies, p 9.

<sup>43</sup> Prisoner of War camps - for instance – in Green Point and Simon's Town.

blockhouses were garrisoned by black and white troops. Historical / archaeological research at these sites would not only trace the everyday life of the participants, but also highlight the role played by black South Africans in a war between two colonising forces. A unique feature of this war was the introduction of concentration camps for women and children of the *Boer* forces, whose gruesome remains are still extant a hundred years later. Questions of diet, health and hygiene, trade, ethnic identity, the contrasting use of space by different groups of people, such as blacks, women and servants are only some of the questions asked from the material culture of colonial southern Africa.

It is to be hoped that the subject of military history 'from below' continues to inspire future researchers.

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## APPENDIX I

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### Inventory of VOC property at Simon's Town, dated 3 November 1795<sup>1</sup>.

(The list was compiled under Mr Hercules Ross)

48531 lbs Iron,  
 4209 " nails,  
 12 " Steel,  
 80 1/32 Chaldron on Stone Cooler,  
 347 lbs Shecd Lead,  
 1 duckts Bushel  
 5 green Stand of 3 yd  
 5 — — " 4 "  
 5 — — " 5 "  
 2 Iron for the Blacksmith's Chimney  
 14 ¾ muds of Salt  
 77 lbs Candles  
 14 2/3 halfawn of train oil  
 10 Schibend? for topmasts and yards  
 1 topmast made  
 3 anchors  
 3 — stocks  
 1 Coir Cable of 15 Inches  
 24 d° Coils of diff. Sizes  
 1 Cable of 79 Inches  
 1 — " 17 d°  
 1 — " 7 ½ d°  
 1 — " 6 d°  
 1 — " 4 ½ d°  
 1 Hawser " 5 d°  
 2 Coils " 2 ½ d°  
 1 d° " 2 d°  
 2 d° " 1 ½ d°  
 1 d° " 1 d°  
 3 deaps Lined  
 32 Lines from 6 to 12 thread  
 2 7/8 tolls Broad white Canvas  
 10 d° Brown Hemp d° in a Case & ?  
 2208 ½ lbs pepper  
 158 lbs soap  
 12 halfawn Sweet oil

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<sup>1</sup> University of the Witwatersrand Library, A88 (17), The Earl Macartney Papers, List of VOC property at Simon's Town, 3.11.1795.

139 ½ Zolls Concrete Cas?  
 14 ½ Zolls in 2 Case No 1 & 2  
 125 d° " 10 Case " 1 to 10  
 10 Sheets for Blocks  
 484 wooden Block pins ?  
     34 loose  
     450 in a Case No 2  
 114 Single Blocks  
 10 Top Sail straps? In Blocks  
 17 Blocks with 3 Sheep  
 33 d°      d° 2      d°  
 2 large Block with iron nails  
 15 ? ?  
 1 ½ Barrels pitch  
 2 ½ d°      Tarr  
 1      d°      ?  
 10 pump Borer  
 2 ½ Hides Legironed? Leather  
 1 d°      pump      d°  
 3 Ship pumps  
 20 Square knees  
 10 Captain beams  
 8 wainscot Boards of ¾ Inches thick  
 12 —      —      " 1 ¼ d°      d°  
 60 fath<sup>m</sup> Links  
 10 Beams of Cape Yellowwood from 10 by 12 Inches thick  
 3 —      "      —      —      " 7 " 8 d°      d°  
 4 —      "      oak from 8 by 10 Inches  
 3 beams      "      d°      of 3 Inches thick  
 4 d°      of Teak on ? of 4 Inches  
 1 Beam of ? from 10 by 12 Inches thick  
 20 Boards of d° of 2 ½ Inches thick  
 100 "      "      " 2 "      "  
 125 "      "      " 1 ½ "      "  
 100 "      "      " 1 "      "  
 17 "      fir      " 3 "      "  
 12 "      "      " 2 "      "  
 561 "      "      " 1 ½ "      "  
 400 "      "      " 1 ¼ "      "  
 380 "      "      " 1 "      "  
 400 "      "      " ¾ "      "  
 255 "      "      " 1 ½ "      " Splitting  
     8 Beams "      " 6 by 8 "      "  
     6 "      "      " 4 " 5 "      "  
 50 Tabts "      " 3 " 6 "      "  
 50 "      "      " 4 " 4 "      "  
 50 Tabbs? 3 by 4 Inches thick  
 50 "      3 by 3 "      "  
 138 Empty Liquors?



60 " halves do  
 1750 Iron Hoops for whole Liquors? in 9 Bundles  
 300 " " half " in 2 "  
 800 " " whole awn " " 3 "  
 250 " " half " " " 1 "  
 200 Sheaves for whole Liquors?  
 37 " " half "  
 100 " " whole awn  
 50 " " half "  
 1480 pipe Slaves  
 1560 Empty ? Baggs  
 25 Iron plates in a Case No 1  
 2 Handsea?  
 15 ?  
 800 Cut Corck in a Case No 2 3 and 4 marked **K**  
 600 Empty Bottels in " 3 ditto 4,5, and 6 marked **B**  
 500 lbs Twine in " 4 ditto

[etc, etc]

University of Cape Town

## APPENDIX II

### List of regiments stationed at the Cape of Good Hope, 1795 to 1803

All infantry regiments, except where shown.

1795	1796	1797	1798	1799	1800	1801	1802	1803
78 <sup>th</sup> ----	-----	-----	----→					
84 <sup>th</sup> ----	-----	-----	----→					
86 <sup>th</sup> ----	-----	-----	-----	-----→				
94 <sup>th</sup> ----	----→							
95 <sup>th</sup>	-----	-----	----→					
98 <sup>th</sup>	-----	-----	91 <sup>st</sup> --	-----	-----	-----	-----	→
Royal Engineers	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	→
Royal Artillery	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	→
Pandours	----→	Cape Corps-	----→	Hottentot Regiment	-----	-----	-----	----→
	8 <sup>th</sup> Light Dragoon	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	→
	28 <sup>th</sup> Light Dragoon	-----	-----	-----	----→			
				61 <sup>st</sup>	-----	-----	->	
				81 <sup>st</sup>	-----	-----	----→	
					22 <sup>nd</sup> Boy Regiment	-----	-----	→
						34 <sup>th</sup> --	-----	->
						72 <sup>nd</sup> --	-----	->
						91 <sup>st</sup> --	-----	→

List of regiments stationed at the Cape 1806 to 1815

All infantry regiments, except where shown.

1806	1807	1808	1809	1810	1811	1812	1813	1814	1815
20 <sup>th</sup> Light Dragoons									
21 <sup>st</sup> -----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
24 <sup>th</sup> -----	-----	-----	----→						
38 <sup>th</sup> ----→									
47 <sup>th</sup> -----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
59 <sup>th</sup> ----→									
71 <sup>st</sup> to India									
72 <sup>nd</sup> -----	-----	-----	-----	-----					----→
83 <sup>rd</sup> -----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	----→
86 <sup>th</sup> to India									
93 <sup>rd</sup> -----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	----→	
Cape Regiment	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	----→
Royal Artillery	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	----→
Royal Engineers	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	----→
	60 <sup>th</sup>	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	----→
	89 <sup>th</sup>								
	95 <sup>th</sup> -								
		87 <sup>th</sup> -	-----	-----					
					98 <sup>th</sup>				
								19 <sup>th</sup> -	----→

**Note** the 49<sup>th</sup> and the 55<sup>th</sup> Regiments stayed in the Cape from 1823 to 1829.

## APPENDIX III

### Comparison of the documentary record with the archaeological record: The case of York Redoubt.

The regiments, which are directly visible in the archaeological record of York Redoubt, are:

- the Royal Artillery by their uniform buttons,
- the Royal Engineers by uniform buttons,
- the 38<sup>th</sup> (1<sup>st</sup> Staffordshire) Regiment of Foot, stationed at the Cape 1806-1807 and 1818-1822, by an officer's button,
- the 49<sup>th</sup> Regiment, stationed at the Cape 1816-1817, by officer's buttons, and graffiti etched on a stone slab of the guardhouse,
- graffiti on stone, inscribed 55<sup>th</sup> [Regiment]. The regiment was stationed at the Cape from 1823 to at least 1829.

The regiments stationed at the Cape (from 1795 to ca 1820), according to the available documentary evidence are listed in Appendix II.

#### General supplies for the rank and file

(Reference: Public Records Office, Kew, England, WO47/2366, Barrack Regulations, 1795, p 1045)

#### Documentary evidence

1 water bucket,  
1 candle stick,  
1 tin can for beer,  
  
1 large earthen pan for meat,  
2 drinking horns,  
1 wooden urinal [a wooden bucket used both as urinal and washbasin],  
1 broom,  
2 iron pots,  
2 wooden lids,

#### Archaeological record

tin can remains, i.e. canteen / mess kit  
fragments present  
  
  
  
  
  
fragments present

Documentary evidence

2 iron pot hooks,  
 2 iron trivets [an iron tripod for a  
 cooking pot or kettle to stand on],  
 2 wooden ladles,  
 1 iron flesh fork,  
 1 frying pan,  
 2 large bowls or platters,  
 2 small bowls or porringers,  
 12 trenches [flat wooden plates for  
 food consumption],  
 12 spoons  
 When on camp, one camp kettle was  
 supplied per six men.

Archaeological record

fragments present  
 fragments present  
  
 possibly present  
  
 fragments present  
 fragments present  
  
 present as metal spoons and handles  
 fragments present

Reference for the following items: Public Records Office, Kew, WO47/2366,  
 45230/171, dated 1 January 1774. This was the supply for troops in Great  
 Britain, which would be extended to the overseas stations.

Documentary evidence

haversack  
 hammocks or bedsteads  
 bolsters  
 blankets and coverlets  
 sheets  
 stationary  
 scissors  
 Thimbles

Archaeological record

the metal parts survived  
  
  
 quill, slateboard, slatepencil, inkbottle  
 fragments present  
 fragments present  
 long serving spoon  
 teaspoon handles,  
 ladle  
 knife blades and handles  
 table knives and handles  
 cake forks  
 table fork and handle  
 present  
 present  
 plate, large  
 plate, small  
 bowl, large  
 bowl, small  
 lidded pot / jar  
 cup with handle  
 saucer  
 creamjug  
 tea/coffee pot/lid  
 jar without lid  
 bottle, beer, carbonated water

Tin can or mug  
 washbasin

Documentary evidence

stationary supplied  
 indirect, rum and arrack supplied  
 indirect, wine supplied  
 indirect, medical care

Archaeological record

inkbottle, quill, slateboard, slatepencil  
 case bottles  
 cylindrical b.  
 aqua coloured  
 clear bottles  
 wine glasses  
 tumblers

**Archaeological record only**

boot eyelets, 15 mm diameter, possibly military boots,  
 blakeys for large size boots, (a blakey is similar to a horseshoe, to be fitted onto boot heels),  
 shoe lace grommets, 5-6 mm diameter,  
 hook and clasp for a tunic or vest,  
 military iron buckles, greater than 300 mm wide,  
 copper alloy buckle,  
 bone crest, probably regimental, to be worn on the collar or shako,  
 officer's epaulette fragment of a gold-laced regiment and a few strands of loose gold braid.  
 finely woven gold 'lace fragment', designed according to regimental orders.  
 round silver alloy tube, ca 10mm diameter and 20mm length, oriental engravings, possible from a tassel attached to an officer's shako,  
 scabbard fragment of leather, part of uniform clip or insignia,  
 belt end,  
 copper alloy belt holder,  
 metal hooks with leather fragment attached, thin, narrow straps,  
 military clasps, copper alloy with 3 holes, probably for pouches,  
 military clasp, copper alloy, with 2 holes and broken end,  
 numerous regimental, blazer and trouser buttons.



## Shot and cartridges

### Documentary evidence

musquet

lead bullets

pistol

6 to 24 pounder canons and canon balls

24 pounder canons and canon balls  
gunflints

### Archaeological record

lead bullets, standard issue for the army, when York Redoubt was commissioned,

small lead bullet for a pistol,  
iron canister or grape shot,

24-pounder iron cannon ball.  
gunflints

## Official food supply and archaeological remains of food at York Redoubt

(References for the food supply are distributed throughout chapter 5)

### Official supply / documentary evidence

rum, wine, spirits, brandy, whiskey and beer

coffee,

bread (preferably baked from wheatflour)

rice,

fresh vegetables and fruit,

dried peas and beans,

raisins,

meat in the form of beef, mutton and

pork,

butter

vinegar and salt

sugar

### Archaeological record

their containers are present

coffeepot and lid

present,

also game, mollusks and fish

## Faunal material: List of species found at York Redoubt.

*Anas sp.*

Bird shell

*G.gallus*

*Macroneustes sp.*

OES

*P.coronatus/P.capensis*

*A.pusillus*

*B.taurus*

*C.angulata*

*Felis sp.*

*L.capensis*  
 Large/medium Bovid  
*O.aries*  
*Procavia capensis*  
*S.scrofa*

*A.pustulosum*  
*Bullia digitalis*  
*Bumepenea sp.*  
*C.meridionalis*  
*C.moneta*  
*C.tigris*  
 Crayfish mandible  
*Cypraea sp.*  
*D.serra*  
*P.argenvillei*  
*P.barbara*  
*P.compressa*  
*P.granatina*  
*P.granularis*  
*Patella sp.*  
*Perlemon*  
*Turritella sp.*  
*V.corrugata*

Fish was analysed in detail:

<u>Species</u>	<u>Common name</u>	<u>documentary evidence</u>	<u>archaeological evidence</u>
<i>Rhabdosargus globiceps</i>	White stumpnose		present
<i>Rhabdosargus globiceps</i>	Cape stumpnose		present
<i>Epinephelus adscensionis</i>	Rock cod		present
<i>Lithognathus lithognathus</i>	White steenbras	yes	present
<i>Arius feliceps</i>	catfish		present
<i>Pachymetopon blochii</i>	hottentot	yes	present
<i>Argyrosomus hololepidus</i>	Cape cod		present
	Snoek	yes	
	Roman	yes	
	Harder	yes	

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